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DEVONSHIRE LITERATURE.

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THE
LITERATURE OF DEVONSHIRE
UP TO THE YEAR 1640.

BEING THE
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE MEMBERS
OF
The Devonshire Association,

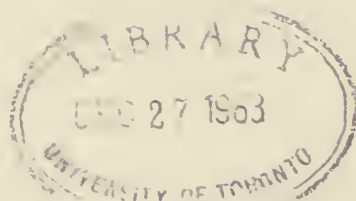
AT THEIR MEETING HELD AT TORQUAY ON TUESDAY, JULY 25TH, 1893.

BY
T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D.

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THE LITERATURE OF DEVONSHIRE

UP TO THE YEAR 1640.

WHEN I acceded to the wish of the Council to become the President of this Association for the present year, I naturally turned to the examination of the subject-matter of those Addresses delivered by the former occupants of this Chair, especially with a view to the selection of some topic relating to this county. Ascertaining that Devonshire literature had not formed the theme of any, I have selected it on the present occasion, especially as I may declare myself, with a slight alteration of a well-known Horatian phrase—

“*Laudator biblicorum actorum.*”

If an apology for such a selection were needed, Carlyle has more than amply supplied it. “In books,” he remarks, “lies the soul of the whole Past Time; the articulate audible voice of the Past, when the body and material substance of it has altogether vanished like a dream. . . . All that mankind has done, thought, gained, or been; it is lying in magic preservation in the pages of Books. They are the chosen possession of men.”

As a reverential lover of books—and surely no man has a right to describe them unless he be such a lover—I may exclaim with Chaucer—

“Books in mine herte have hem in reverence
So hertely, that there is game none,
That fro my bookes maketh me to gone.”

In attempting to give some account of Devonshire Works and their Authors, I do not purpose to pass beyond the year 1640, when the meeting of the Long Parliament became “a definite and distinct turning-point in our printed literature” (Arber); and the exigencies of an Address of this kind will not enable me to give more than a faint and somewhat blurred outline. My aim will be to point out in what directions English literature generally, as well as locally, has been aided by the labours of Devonshire men and of Devon-

shire residents ; at the same time to draw attention to some of the more notable works and institutions, that stand out prominently above their fellows. In so doing, I hope the time spent will not be deemed altogether profitless ; more particularly I trust I may not be accused of misdirected energy, and so fall under the definition included in the scathing lines of J. R. Lowell, as—

“A reading machine, ever wound up and going,
He mastered whatever was not worth the knowing.”

As a matter of convenience we may divide our subject into periods, differing much in duration, being for the most part marked by some prominent historical event, rather than by any order of time.*

First Period, -1087.

Our first period extends from the earliest times to the death of William I. in 1087.

The earliest literary man to notice belonging to this county, of whom we have any cognizance, is WINFRID or WINFRITH (680-755), a native of Crediton, more widely known as St. Boniface, “the apostle of Germany” ; born in the year when Cædmon, the Anglo-Saxon poet, is reported to have died. Up to this time, learning and learned men had been more especially identified with the north and north-east of England, and with Ireland. Wilfred, Benedict Biscop, Cædmon, Ceolford, Bede, were Northumbrians. The life of St. Boniface was one of too much activity to afford him much leisure for literary work. In addition to a set of ecclesiastical statutes, some sermons, and minor religious works, he wrote a Latin poem termed *Ænigmata de Virtutibus*, addressed to his sister. This entitles him to be considered as the earliest Devonshire poet of whom we possess any record. He is, however, best known for his *Epistolæ*, the correspondence between himself and his friends, during the period of his missionary work in Germany, 718-755—the earliest collection of letters of an Englishman that we possess. In the opinion of Green, the historian (i. 4), “the letters of Boniface and Alcwine . . . form the most valuable contemporary materials,” for the history of England of the period in which they were written. Social and general and personal history, the trials and labours of his missionary work, all find a place in them. His literary character displays itself in his fondness for books, his friends being

* In Appendix A will be found a list of the authorities cited. The references in figures are to notes in that appendix.

frequently urged to send him some, of which he records the titles, &c., the works of Bede being mentioned several times. *e.g.* In a letter to Abbot Cuthbert he writes, "Interea rogamus, ut aliqua de opusculis sagacissimi investigatoris scripturarum Bedan monachi." (Epistle xxxvii.) These letters "seem to have been the delight of our forefathers during the ninth century, and . . . deserve to be better known than they are, even at the present day." (T. Wright, i. 48.) It is a matter of regret that an annotated translation into English has never been made. To the Rev. Dr. Giles we owe a collected edition of his works in 1844, forming two volumes of the *Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.¹

To ST. WILLIBALD (700–785), also born at Crediton, is usually attributed the memoir of his uncle St. Boniface, *De Vita vel Passione Beatissimi Martyris Bonifacii Auctore Willibaldo*; but Dr. Giles (*Op. cit.* ii. 8, where, in the heading of the memoir, the author's name appears as "Willibaldus Presbyter") affirms it was "not the celebrated bishop of that name, as was long supposed, but another Willibald, of less merit and pretensions," and Heinschenius, in his *Acta Sanctorum*, makes a similar assertion. (T. Wright, i. 344–5.) Be that, however, as it may, it is the earliest known biography of a Devon worthy. *The Itinerary of St. Willibald* (721–727), "written from his own recital by a nun of Heidenheim," is one of the earliest recorded travels in the Holy Land. (Printed at length in T. Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine*, 1848, 13–22.) The convent of Heidenheim had for its abbess St. Walburga, the sister of St. Willibald, and as the nun who acted as his amanuensis is known to have been his kinswoman, she was probably his own sister, and the author also of the life of St. Wunnebald, the brother of St. Willibald.²

ST. BURCHARD (–754), said to be a Devonian by Prince, was associated with St. Boniface in his missionary work, and died one year before him. His claim to our notice rests on some sermons still preserved at Wurzburg (where he was the first bishop), portions of which have been printed in Germany.

ALFREDUS or ALFRICUS (–981?), abbot of Malmesbury, was consecrated bishop of Crediton, *circa* 977. Godwin (320), on the authority of Hooker, affirms he wrote two books, the history of his abbey (*De rebus cœnobii sui*), and a scientific treatise (*De rerum naturis*), neither of which are now known.³

LYFFING or LIVINGUS (–1047), next but one in succession to Alfredus as Bishop of Crediton (1032–1047), was previously

Abbot of Tavistock. This "eloquent bishop," as he is termed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, accompanied Canute to Rome, and is stated by Prince (567) to have written *Canutus's Pilgrimage and his own doings*, of which we know nothing but the title.⁴

The successor to Lyfing in the See was Bishop LEOFRIC (-1072), whose birthplace is unknown. He removed the seat of the diocese from the open village of Crediton to the walled town of Exeter, of which he was the first bishop. Although in many ways a man of mark, he was not an author; but as a lover and a collector of books, the possessor of what was then regarded as a large private library, at a period when books were expensive luxuries, he demands our attention. His name, and his great love of Saxon works, point out his Saxon origin, although by some authors he is thought to have been a Breton. He gave, amongst other presents to the cathedral, between sixty and seventy volumes, some for the daily services, others for the cathedral library. "These church books were evidently in Anglo-Saxon, because he contrasts them with the subsequent list of books in Latin." (T. Wright, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xviii. 222.) The list of works is recorded in his will, and is of especial interest to Devonians, for being "the earliest catalogue of an English library now known to exist." (*Ibid.* 224.)⁵ Of all the works therein enumerated, only one is preserved in the present library, but it is one of the most important Anglo-Saxon MSS. in England. It is entitled, *One great English book on various subjects composed in verse*, and, as the *Codex Exoniensis*, was published, by the Society of Antiquaries, in 1842, under the editorship of B. Thorpe. This is rendered of especial value to philological students by having in parallel columns the original text and an English translation.⁶ The MS. is of small folio size, with vellum leaves, wanting a few at the beginning and end of the work, and, excepting towards the latter, in fair condition of preservation. The writing is in large characters, and believed to be of the tenth century. The contents are of a miscellaneous kind, relating chiefly to moral and religious subjects, drawn from various sources, and vary much in interest and value. The poems are nearly fifty in number, many of them fragmentary. With one exception, they exhibit the main characteristics of Anglo-Saxon poetry; that is, they consist of short rhymeless lines, written like prose (the line-lengths being marked by points), and having a regular alliteration so arranged, that in every couplet the first line contains two words, and the second one,

commencing with the same letter. Here is an example from "The Exile's Complaint," in the *Codex* (443).

"rindon dena dimme
duna up—heu."

"dim are the dells
the downs high."

The exception alluded to is termed by Thorpe the "Riming Poem," from the lines terminating in proper rhymes, but the alliteration is unchanged.⁷ The longest, and the only poem whose author is known, is "the legend of St. Guthlac"; a metrical paraphrase of the life of that saint by Felix, a monk of Croyland Abbey. The volume contains a curious collection of riddles, a form of amusement to which our Anglo-Saxon forefathers appear to have been very partial. Probably the gleeman, as a foil to, and after the recital of, more serious pieces, wound up the evening's amusement by propounding one or more of these riddles.⁸ We can readily believe that some of the compositions were by Devonians, belonging to some religious house, such as the one at Tavistock. The probability of this is increased by the circumstance that the Leofric Missal, one of the volumes given by Leofric to his cathedral, used there during his episcopate, and now preserved in the Bodleian Library, belonged originally to Tavistock Abbey, of which his predecessor Lyfing had been abbot.

A fitting conclusion to this notice of our first period may be made, in a brief allusion to the Great Survey of the country, ordered to be carried out by William I. within a short period of his death, and recorded in the well-known *Domesday Book of the Exchequer*. It contains a complete territorial record of this country. Of even greater interest to us, is the supplementary volume known as *The Exeter Domesday* (which has remained in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter for 800 years), as it possesses the marked advantage of fuller details than the original work. It would be simply impertinent to expatiate upon its importance.⁹

Second Period, 1088–1300.

Our second period carries us on to the end of the 13th century, during which many works on religious subjects are recorded to have been written, some of which are now unknown.

Of ROBERT FOLIOT (–1186), a Devonian (Fuller, i. 251) and Bishop of Hereford, it is reported by Pits (236) that he wrote *De Sacramentis antiquæ et nouæ legis; Concionum;*

and another work, of which the titles alone have descended to us.

RICHARD FISHACRE or FIZACRE (-1248), a native of Exeter (Pits, 317, states "*patria Deuoniensis, ex territorio Exoniensi*"), was a learned Dominican, and the intimate friend of Robert Bacon. He wrote several treatises on Divinity, Commentaries, &c., of which the titles are given in Pits's work. Some of his MSS. are said to be preserved at Oxford.¹⁰

Although Hooker (in Godwin's *Bishops*) affirms BARTHOLOMEW (-1184) to have been called "Iscaunus of Isca," and "a meane Citizen's sonne" of Exeter, his most recent biographer (T. A. Archer in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*) states that he was a native of Brittany. He was, however, Bishop of Exeter for the long period of twenty-three years (1161-1184). Historically, he is known as one of the great opponents of the policy of Becket, yet, after the death of the latter, he was selected to preach the sermon on the re-opening of Canterbury Cathedral. This "luminary of the English church" wrote several works on divinity, of which Pits (250) gives a list. None of them have been published.¹¹

Bartholomew was the active friend of BALDWIN (-1190), a native of Exeter, and Archbishop of Canterbury (1184-1190). They esteemed each other so highly that a life-long friendship resulted, and they "mutually dedicated books to each other's commendation, so that neither wanted praise nor praised himself." (Fuller, i. 274.) His own productions were principally theological, and were included in the works of the Cistercian fathers, printed in 1662. (Wright, ii. 295.) According to Dr. Hook, they "do not contain any matter of deep interest." (*Abps. of Canterbury*, ii. 546.) Several of his original MSS. are in the Lambeth Library. His *De corruptis moribus cleri et populi* contains much of value relating to the social history of the period, and describes "the expectation so prevalent in the twelfth century that the world was approaching to its end." (Wright, ii. 294.) His *De Sacramento Altaris*, written in Ford Abbey before he was abbot there, is of peculiar interest for having been printed, in 1521, at Cambridge, by John Siberch, the year when the printing press was first introduced there. It was the fourth work executed by Siberch.¹²

To the historical student he is better known for his celebrated tour through Wales in the year 1188, on a mission to preach a crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens. Dr. Hook remarks, "The interior of Wales was as little known as the interior of Africa at the present time . . .

of the Welsh language the missionaries were ignorant: equally ignorant were the Welsh themselves of Latin, Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman." (*Op. cit.* ii. 560-1.) Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the success is reported to have been marvellously great. His *Itinerary*, written by Giraldus de Barri (Cambrensis), and published in Latin in 1585, was translated by Sir R. C. Hoare, and issued in 1806.

The Bishop, successively of Hereford and of London, GILBERT FOLIOT (-1187), a near kinsman of Robert Foliot, already noticed, was born at Tamerton Foliot. (Fuller, i. 251.) He wrote several theological and other treatises, of which the titles are given by Pits (251-2), and we can but regret his *Vitas aliquot sanctorum Angliæ* has not come down to us. The only work now known of his, *A Treatise on Solomon's Song* ("De Cantica Canticorum"), was printed in 1638. Many of his letters have been preserved, and are of much interest. They were published by Dr. J. A. Giles in 1845 and more recently in *Materials for the Life of Becket* (1877) Rolls Series. Of Becket he was a determined opponent.

Ford Abbey, during this period, had, said Fuller, "more learning therein than three convents of the same bignesse." (i. 263.) Baldwin belonged to it, as well as the two following literary men.

ROGER DE FORD, or ROGER THE CISTERCIAN (-1181) "lived (neer the place of his birth) at Ford Abbey." (Fuller, i. 263.) He wrote the *Revelations of St. Elizabeth of Flanders*; *A Narrative of the Martyrdom of the 11,000 Virgins at Cologne*; and a metrical poem, *Encomium Mariæ*. Of these three Latin MSS., none of which were printed, the first was at one time among the Cottonian MSS. (Otho, A. xii.), the second is in the library of St. John's College, Oxford, and of the third nothing more is known. Pits (246) gives the titles of the three.

JOHN DE FORD, or DEVONIUS (-1220) "carrys the signature of his country in his forehead" (Prince, 295), but his birth-place is unknown. Dr. Oliver (*Monasticon*, 339) states he "resigned in 1191, Bindon Abbey," to become Abbot of Ford, which he retained until his death in 1220. Pits (276-7) gives a list of thirteen of his works, nearly all theological: some of the MS. copies are still in existence, but none have been printed. One volume contained 120 Homilies. Had it been preserved, his *Acta Joannis Regis* would probably have been of interest, as he was Confessor to that King. He wrote the *Life of St. Wulfric*, the hermit of Haselberg, of which there are MS. copies in the Cottonian MSS. (Faustina,

B. iv. 3.), as well as in the Library of Eton College; and each possesses separate dedications to Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, and to Archbishop Baldwin.¹³ Dr. Oliver (*Ibid.* 339) points out that as the former died about the time of the translation of the latter to Canterbury (1184), "it is possible that the book may not be a genuine work." The author having dedicated it to the former, and learning he was dead, probably wrote a second dedication without interfering with the first. As Dr. Oliver adds, "Anyone who is friendly to the memory of the Abbot, and has read the biography, must be pleased to think that he was perhaps not the author of such a production," it is probable that the character of the work may have biased his mind with respect to the authorship.

The poets and poetry of this period will not occupy much of our time. The metrical work of Roger de Ford has already been mentioned. The next author, SIMON ASH, or FRAXINUS (12th century), is called by Prince (15) a Devonian, on the authority of Hooker. He wrote a metrical abridgement, in French, of the *Consolations* of Boethius, or *The Romance of Dame Fortune*, as a MS. copy in the Bodleian Library is named. He was a great friend of Giraldus Cambrensis, with whom he corresponded in Latin verse. In a similar form of composition, and under the title of *Apologia Rythmica*, he defended the latter when attacked by the Abbot of Dore in "contumelious verses," for having written *Speculum Ecclesie*, in which Giraldus commented severely upon abuses amongst the clergy and laity. (Printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 641, *et seq.*) Some of his epigrams and short poems (MS.) are in the Libraries of Lambeth, and of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (Wright, ii. 350.)¹⁴

"The most eloquent poet of that age," according to Camden, was JOSEPH OF EXETER—JOSEPHUS ISCANUS (*fl.* 1190), whose birthplace is recorded in his name. His principal work, *De Bello Trojano*, a Latin epic poem in six books, was written at the time that Archbishop Baldwin (said to be his uncle, and to whom he dedicated his work) was preaching the Crusade in Wales, for which Henry II. was making preparation, so that it must have been composed between 1184 and 1190. It has been printed many times abroad, once in England (1675), but has never been translated into English. Of another poem, *Antiocheis*, only a fragment remains, printed by Warton (i. clxvi.), and is an eulogy of British heroes. It was found by Leland in the library of Abingdon Abbey. Pits (276) gives a list of other of his pieces, the correctness of which

has been doubted. He is highly praised by Warton, who remarks of his poem on the Trojan war, "The structure of the versification approaches nearly to that of polished Latin poetry." (i. clxiii.) Wright (i. 402) designates him "the best of our mediæval Anglo-Latin poets"; while Fuller (i. 274), alludes to him as "a golden Pott in a leaden age, so terse and elegant were his conceits and expressions." The only adverse critic appears to be H. Morley, who somewhat sneeringly remarks of him, "He wants also, and will always want, readers. Having Homer, we can spare Joseph of Exeter upon the Trojan war." (*Op. cit.* 600.)¹⁵

Passing from the domain of poetry to that of law, we arrive at the name of our most important author up to this period, the eminent ecclesiastic and judge, HENRY DE BRACTON, BRATTON, or BRETTON (-1268), who, although at one time claimed to have been a Somersetshire man, is now generally assigned to Devonshire, and to have been a native either of Bratton Clovelly, near Okehampton, or of Bratton Fleming, near Barnstaple. His great and only known literary work, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*, is yet one of our great legal classics. Up to the time of its composition, it formed a complete digest of the laws and customs of England, and was "the first attempt to treat the whole extent of the law in a manner at once systematic and practical." It was not the first work of its kind in England, as one, generally attributed to Ranulf de Glanville (-1190), of Suffolk, had been written in the previous century, but it lacks the comprehensiveness of Bracton's work. Through Coke, Bracton's "influence has been effective in moulding the existing common law of England"; and one of his great merits consists in "citing cases in support of the principles he enunciates." (These quotations are from *Dict. Nat. Biog.*) The fearless character of his writings may be gleaned from the following extracts:

"A king is a king so long as he rules well; he becomes a tyrant when he oppresses the people committed to his charge . . . when the king turns aside to do injustice, he is the minister of the devil." (Lib. i. ch. viii.)

"The King hath for his superior God, as also the law by which he is made King . . . if the King be without a bridle, that is without law, then ought they to bridle him." (Lib. i. ch. xvi.)

We cannot wonder that the Puritan leaders quoted freely from Bracton's writings. Judge Bradshaw did so at the trial of Charles I., and Milton quoted the first of the

above extracts, in his *Defence of the People of England*. It is marvellous to reflect that, at the time when regal authority was paramount, a judge had the hardihood to indite such opinions. We must, however, bear in mind, that even the most tyrannical ruler always professed respect for law and justice, and all that Bracton did was to record the law of England, a law that was directly opposed to the doctrine of passive obedience.

Of its wide professional popularity the number of MS. copies bears testimony, but although it was repeatedly quoted as the great authority on the subject, it was not published in a complete form until 1569. The most important edition is that of Sir Travers Twiss (Rolls Series, 6 vols. 1878-1883), which possesses the advantage of an English translation. Bracton gave some MSS. to the Cathedral library.¹⁶

Third Period, 1300-1477.

Our next period takes us down to the introduction of printing into England (1477), and practically includes the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Except in a very few instances the literature of the county during this long period received no important additions, and the number of recorded writers is remarkably small. The terrible wars with France, and the troubles with Scotland, at home the civil Wars of the Roses, the Peasant Revolt, with the repeated pestilences and general misery, may to a certain extent account for this; and yet the literature of the fourteenth century was enriched with the works of Chaucer and Gower, Wycliffe and Langland, and in the fifteenth the printing press was introduced into England.

Taking precedence of the writers, comes the name of one who promoted and advanced the study of literature, by founding a college for scholars of Devon and Cornwall. WALTER DE STAPELDON (-1326), born at Annery, in the parish of Monkleigh (Dr. Oliver, *Bps. of Exeter*, 55), Bishop of Exeter (1308-1326), founded and liberally endowed Hart's Hall and Stapeldon's Inn, Oxford, the name being subsequently changed by Bishop Stafford into Exeter College; "and he left funds to establish in St. John's Hospital [Exeter] . . . a grammar school to prepare them for that university." (*Ibid.* 57.)¹⁷

Commencing with authors on religious subjects, the first is ROBERT DE PLYMPTON (-1320), of whom but little is known.

Pits (408) assigns him to Devonshire, and that he was a Canon of the Augustinian priory of Plympton, also that he was the author of two works, *De Penitentia* and *Sermones Dominicales*, of which nothing is known.¹⁸ WILLIAM OF EXETER (-1330), Canon of Exeter Cathedral, is asserted by Pits (426) to have been the author of several religious treatises, the principal being one against the Ockhamites. Nothing further is known of them, or of works on theology and philosophy of another writer of the same period, JOHN DE BAMPTON (-1341), of which the titles of two are given by Pits (449). He was a Cluniac monk, and, according to a doubtful tradition, was the first lecturer on Aristotle at Cambridge. Equally unknown are the literary labours of WILLIAM SLADE (-1415) a Devonian, according to Hooker, Abbot of Buckfastleigh, and Rector of Exeter College. At Buckfastleigh he is reported to have left "behind him xiii. books of his own penning."¹⁹ WALTER OF EXETER (fl. 1301), a Cluniac monk, is said to have written *The History or Life of Guy Earl of Warwick* (Prince, 354), but more probably it was a version of the ordinary romance of Guy of Warwick, of which unfortunately no trace has descended to us.²⁰

Happily we are in possession of another romance of the latter part of the same century, and one of considerable philological importance. The exploits of Charlemagne were long the theme of song and romance, first in France and afterwards in the neighbouring countries.²¹ All the Charlemagne romances, whether in verse or prose, were popular. The one that found the most favour in England was designated *Sir Ferumbras* (a corruption of the original name *Fierabras*), a gigantic Saracen knight, whose adventures it related. Of this an English metrical version, preserved in a MS. in the Bodleian Library, was for the first time printed in the year 1877, by the Early English Text Society. The Editor (Mr. S. J. Herrtage) states, "The poem is written in a southern (probably Devonshire) dialect, but has an unusually large admixture of midland and northern forms," probably from the author having resided "for some considerable time in counties north of his own." (xviii.) From its *internal* evidence he believed "the author of the poem was a clergyman, and . . . most likely . . . lived at Exeter" (xvi., xviii.); while Mr. W. H. Black, from the *external* evidence of its "antient covers," concluded "that the author was a clergyman, lived in the diocese of Exeter (probably in that city), and composed his work shortly after 1377, or early in

the reign of Richard II."²² It is not at all improbable that the poem (translation) was the work of "John Brygge, the vicar of Bucfastleghe."

Although it contains a large amount of alliteration, it is not an alliterative poem. It has two different rhyming metres. As far as at present known, it is the earliest work containing a distinct Devon dialect.²³ As an example, I may quote the following from the remarks of Mr. Herrtage: "The *e* is very frequently omitted before the *th* in the third person singular. . . . In many cases this peculiarity, which still exists in Devonshire, serves to distinguish between the singular and plural." (xxiv.) The following line (1513), taken from the work, shows a remarkable variant of the Cornish "one and all":

"Peynymes thei were alle and some."

The only historian of this period was RICHARD CHICHESTER (*fl.* 1348), whom Bishop Bale and Fuller claim as a Devonian, and a member of the family of Raleigh, of Pilton. "He wrote a chronicle from Hengistus the Saxon, to the year of our Lord, 1348, done indeed *fide Historica*." (Fuller, i. 263.)²⁴

The publication of the letters and papers of JOHN SHILLINGFORD, Mayor of Exeter, 1445, 7, and 8 (*Camd. Soc.* 1871), was an important contribution to the history of that city.²⁵ They relate to a quarrel of long standing between the civic and the ecclesiastic authorities; the Mayor claiming "sole jurisdiction within the whole city including the Bishop's palace," while the Bishop claimed that the latter was "separate, distinct from, and out of the jurisdiction of the Mayor." Hence a very pretty "difference of opinion" which terminated in a compromise in 1448. The letters show the great antagonism between the two parties, as well as the vigorous manner in which the Mayor fought for the asserted rights of the city. There is a short notice of the contest in Izacke's *Antiquities of Exeter*. It is rather singular that Dr. Oliver makes no allusion to it in any of his works.

"The first author who had the merit of reducing Heraldry to a system," and "the most ancient author of this country whose works on the subject of Heraldry are extant," is NICHOLAS UPTON (*fl.* 1440), a Devonian, and believed to have been born at Postlinch. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, persuaded him to retire from the military service, and he then became a priest. In return, as his patron, he dedicated to the Duke his first work on Heraldry. It consists of four books, two of which (translated), printed for the first time,

formed a portion of *the Boke of St. Albans* of Juliana Berners, published in 1486. The complete work appeared in 1654, edited by Edward Bysshe.

WILLIAM WEY or WEYE (1408-1476) is the only Devonian traveller during this period, whose written account of his wanderings has been preserved.²⁶ As a pilgrim he visited Compostella in 1456, and Jerusalem in 1458 and 1462. The original MS. (in prose and verse) and large map, are in the Bodleian Library, and under the editorship of the Rev. G. Williams, the former was printed in 1857 (map in 1867) under the title of *The Itineraries of William Wey*. (Roxb. Club.) From this the following is quoted as a specimen, "In this Boke conteynynd ys the wey to Jerusalem and the holy placys in that sam contre.

"Fro Venyse to Port Jaff by the see
Hyt ys ij^m myle and hundrys thre ;
And yn that see ther is a place
Wher the whale swalowyd Jonas.
Ther ys in the same, besyde that,
A ston that seynt Petyr fyschyd at.
Also att Jaff ther was a place
Wher Dorkas fro deth reysyd was." (8)

If the literary work of anyone of this period be still regarded with the highest degree of respect, and as of great authority on the subject of it, most assuredly it will be that of the next writer to notice, "one of the worthies of the county of Devon, of whom it may be justly proud" (Foss, *Judges of England* (1870) 276), viz., SIR JOHN FORTESCUE (1394?-1476?), "that notable Bulwarke of our Lawes," as he is termed by Raleigh (*Hist. of World* (1614) 247), Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and "Lord Chancellor to King Henry VI." His birthplace is unknown, except it is generally conceded to be in this county. He was the author of several works, nearly all of them relating to legal matters,²⁷ but the two for which he is celebrated are—

De Laudibus Legum Angliæ.

De Dominio Regali et Politico.

The first—*A Treatise of the Laws of England*, and his principal work, was written about 1470, while an exile in France with the Queen and Prince Edward, whither they had gone, when the Lancastrians were defeated at the battle of Hexham, in the year 1464. For the education of the prince, who was entrusted to his care, he wrote this Latin work, in the form of a dialogue between the prince and himself. In it, and accompanied with many illustrations from Scripture, he taught him the duties and responsibilities of a

king. The first chapter, "An Exhortation to the Study of the Laws," terminates thus: "To depart from Evil, the Laws teach and caution; whereby they also produce that Fear of God, which is the true Wisdom." The ninth chapter, "The Nature of a Government which is Political," is a memorable one, and has been frequently quoted in the Law Courts as well as in Parliament. The following is a noteworthy passage in it: "A King of England cannot, at his Pleasure, make any Alterations in the Laws of the Land, for the Nature of his Government is not only Regal but Political." The work, "after more than three centuries, is referred to as the first treatise that entered minutely into the history of our legal institutions and described the professional education and habits of the period." (Foss, *Op. cit.* 276.) First printed in 1537, it has passed through many editions, both in the original Latin, and translated into English (first in 1567).

His second treatise, *The Difference between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy*, was written in English.²³ In some portions, notably those relating to the kingly power, it is a paraphrase or expansion of the former work, and was certainly written after it. In it he contrasts the Constitution of England with that of France, much to the disparagement of the latter country, and is based on his enquiries and observation when an exile there. Of the French peasantry he gives a lamentable description. The twelfth chapter is headed, "Hereafter ys schewyd, what Harme would come to England, if the Commons thereof were Pore," as the French were; and he points out that the well-being of the Commons is the welfare of the State.

His works have the singular merits of being of simple diction, short, and to the point. His remains were interred in Ebrington Church, Gloucestershire, and the final couplet of his Latin epitaph has been thus translated—

"To latest times shall Fortescue be known,
And in the law's just praise we read his own."

Before quitting our notice of the literary records of this period, some important works relating to ecclesiastical and general history, and which until recently remained in a MS. state, and inaccessible to the student, must not be overlooked.

The first is an ACCOUNT OF THE EXECUTORS OF THOMAS DE BITTON or BUTTON, Bishop of Exeter (1292-1307), edited for the Camden Society (1874) by Archdeacon Hale, and the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, containing many interesting particulars bearing upon the manorial history of the county, as well as

upon social manners of the century. As he is one of the bishops about whom little is known, and whose Registers have long since perished, the account is of especial value.

The second is the *ISSUE ROLL OF THOMAS DE BRANTINGHAM*, Bishop of Exeter (1370-1394) and Lord High Treasurer of England: a statement of payments made out of His Majesty's Revenue, 44 Edw. 3 (1370), published in 1835. It was the year of Brantingham's consecration as Bishop of Exeter. As an indication of its value, it contains entries relating to Henry de Bracton, as well as to Chaucer.²⁹

The third is the *LIBER PONTIFICALIS* of Bishop Lacy (1420-1455), edited by R. Barnes, and published in 1847. The original MS. was the property, and in the use, of the bishop, and at his death was deposited in the Cathedral Library, where it yet remains. It is believed to belong to the 14th century, and is the ancient ritual used by him in all those services in which he took the leading part.

The fourth and last of this series is the publication, still in progress, of the *BISHOPS' REGISTERS* (Index and full Abstract), by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, of which three goodly volumes have appeared. It would be difficult to over-estimate, or to express in adequate terms of commendation, the worth of these results of his industry and self-denying labours. Suffice it to say, that a knowledge of the contents of these precious Registers has, for the first time, been made practically available to the student of parochial and of general history.

Fourth Period, 1477-1558.

The period extending from 1477 to the accession of Elizabeth, although historically a highly important one, was, notwithstanding the introduction of the printing press, not marked by any increase in the number of Devon authors, judging from the number of their published works. It may be regarded as the proœmium to the numerous literary productions that were to spring up during her reign.

The earliest printed work that can be claimed for this county, emanated from one who was a resident but for a short time. ALEXANDER BARCLAY (1475?-1552), a priest, and probably of Scottish origin (although assigned to Devonshire, by Pits, 745), on his return from the Continent was by Bishop Cornish, Warden of the College of Ottery St. Mary, appointed to a chaplaincy there. During his foreign sojourn,

he could not have been insensible of the extraordinary popularity of Sebastian Brandt's *Narrenschiff*,³⁰ published in 1494. His first English work was a translation of Pierre Gringoire's *Le Chateau de Labour* (1499), under the title of *The Castell of Laboure*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1506. Whether this can be regarded as a Devon work is unknown, but there can be no doubt of the next, a translation of Brandt's work, entitled *The Shyp of folys*, and published by Pynson as a good folio in 1509, being claimed for this county, from the following note at the end of the Latin dedication to Bishop Cornish:

"This present Boke named the Shyp of folys of the worlde was translated in the College of saynt Mary Otery in the counte Deuonshyre: out of Laten, Frenche, and Doche into Englysshe tonge by Alexander Barclay Preste: and at that tyme Chaplen in the sayde College, translated the yere of our Lorde god. M.cccc.viiij. Inprentyd in the Cyte of London in Fletestre at the signe of Saynt George. By Rycharde Pynson to hys Coste and charge: Ended the yere of our Saviour. M. d. ix. The xiiij. day of December."

He left Devonshire for Ely about 1508.³¹

Under the allegory of a ship laden with fools of all ranks and classes, Brandt satirises their weaknesses and vices. Each individual or class is taken and described by itself in verse, and illustrated by a satirical woodcut. There is no attempt at any plot, or even any connection between the several chapters. "It was the first printed book," according to Max Muller, "that treated of contemporaneous events and living persons, instead of old German battles and French knights," and was "just such a satire which ordinary people would read, and read with pleasure."³²

Barclay's work is much more than a simple translation of the original satire. He himself states, "It is not translated word by worde acordinge to ye verses of my actour." It reproduces the matter but not the manner of Brandt's volume. Its metre is different; it frequently paraphrases the original, and to the larger number of sections is added a verse or verses of Barclay's own, as "The enuoy of Barklay to the Folys."³³ To its general merit, Max Muller thus testifies: "In some parts his translation is an improvement on the original."

It is, moreover, of especial value for two distinct reasons, first to the philologist, for being an excellent example of the English of the period. "Written midway between Chaucer and Spenser, it is infinitely more easy to read than either."

(Jamieson, i. xx.) And, secondly, for containing "the most graphic and comprehensive picture ever preserved of the folly, injustice, and iniquity which demoralized England, city and country alike, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and rendered it ripe for any change, political or religious."³⁴ From this it will be understood that Barclay's work is not a translation, but an adaptation to English life and manners. Written, not in Latin for the learned, but in English for the people, he thus excuses "the rudenes of his translacion," and which is "confessedly written in the commonest language of the common people" (Jamieson):

"My speche is rude my termes comon and rural
And I for rude peple moche more conuenient
Than for Estates, lerned men, or eloquent." (i. 2.)

It is full of apothegms, proverbs and wise saws; and although at times humorous, is terribly in earnest. He remarks, "I write no jest ne tale of Robyn hode." He attacks all classes, and, curiously enough, the first on his list is the bibliomaniac, the man who collects books and does not read them.

"For to haue plenty it is a plesant thyng
In my conceyt aud to haue them ay in honde
But what they mene do I not understonde." (i. 20.)

Gluttons and drunkards, backbiters, flatterers, mockers and false accusers, talebearers, "the vyce of vnkyndnes," are all included in his list. In the section "Of newe fassions and disguised garmentes" he tritely remarks:

"Comonly it is sene that nowe a dayes
One Fole gladly folowes another's wayes."

It may be of interest to know that his remarks on fashions are confined to the men. He is especially severe on those "that make noyses rehersynges of talys and do other thynges unlawfull and dishonest in ye chvrche of God," condemning the practice of those who take dogs or hawks into the sacred edifice, *e.g.*:

"On his fyst a Sparhanke or fawcon,
Or els a cokow." (i. 221.)³⁵

He makes occasional allusion to Devonshire people, sometimes by name, as Sir Johu Kirkham, and "Mansell of Otery." One verse he devotes to eight secondaries of the Ottery St. Mary College, whom he designates as his "eyght neyghbours." His opinion of the local parochial clergy is not a very high one:

"For if one can flater, and bere a hawke on his fyst,
He shalbe made Person of Honyngton or of Clyst." (i. 22.)³⁶

The illustrations in Barclay's work are facsimiles of those in Brandt's. Its great popularity led to the publication of other English versions, as well as to many imitations, confined in some instances to the title alone. Several ballads also appeared under a similar title.³⁷ The most memorable work in all probability suggested by, written in a similar vein to, that of Barclay, and published in the year following, is *Morice Encomium*: or the Praise of Folly, by Erasmus, in Latin (subsequently translated into English by Bishop Kennet). In this, Folly "mounts a pulpit in cap and bells, and pelts with her satire the absurdities of the world around her, the superstition of the monk, the pedantry of the grammarian, the dogmatism of the doctors of the schools, the selfishness and tyranny of kings." (Green, ii. 85.) In his prefatory epistle to Sir Thomas More, he makes the punning statement: "The first hint [of the work] was your own sirname of *More*, which comes as near the literal sound of the word, as you yourself are distant from the signification of it; and that in all men's judgments is vastly wide."

No account of the literature of this county could be deemed complete without it included the name of MILES COVERDALE (1488-1568), who was not a Devonian, but held the Bishopric of Exeter, 1551-3. Although a voluminous author, none of his writings are attributed to him during the time he held the See. Be that as it may, every church in Devonshire (as throughout England generally) was supplied, in 1535, with a copy of the Bible in English, the work of Coverdale; and in 1549, with one of the translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrase of the New Testament*, a portion of which was also Coverdale's work, viz., the dedication to the second volume, and the translation of the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians.³⁸

Any speculative historian would certainly include in a chapter of history that might have been, the projected marriage of EDWARD COURTENAY, *Earl of Devonshire* (1526?-1556), first with Mary when queen, afterwards with Elizabeth.³⁹ He was imprisoned at the age of twelve with his father, when the latter was convicted of high treason, and was not released until the year 1553, when Mary came to the throne. While a prisoner he translated in 1548, an Italian work by Antonio della Paglia, under the title of *The Benefit of Christ's Death*.⁴⁰ "It was deemed to be an apology for the reformed doctrines," and as such might conciliate the king in his favour, but in this it failed. The MS. is preserved in the Cambridge University Library, and con-

tains two autographs of Edward VI. It was printed for the first time in 1858.

DR. JOHN MOREMAN (-1554), born at Southhole, near Hartland, was Canon of Exeter, and by Prince is recorded as having written a work upon St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, that was intended for publication, but never printed.⁴¹ While Vicar of Menheniot the historian Hooker was instructed by him.

On the authority of Wood (i. 195) JOHN MORWEN, B.D. (*fl. circ.* 1550), was a Devonian. He was celebrated as a learned Greek scholar, and an instructor of Bishop Jewel, although afterwards "a hater of his opinions." He translated from the Greek into Latin many Greek poems and lives of saints, and composed a few epitaphs. Some of his MSS. are in the Bodleian library, but none appear to have been printed.

A native of Kingsbridge, DAVID TOLLEY or TALLEY (1500? -1552?), also TAVELEGUS and TAULÆUS, published at Antwerp in 1547, a Greek grammar, entitled *Progymnasmata Græce Grammatices*, written, according to the author, eight years previously, "as well as a Latin grammar already printed." He is recorded to have compiled the former for the use of Prince Edward, but whether so or not is unknown. It may have been founded on the circumstance that the copy in the British Museum, printed on vellum, and with the title-page and initial letters illuminated, has the autograph of Edw. VI. on the back of the title-page, in all probability a presentation copy. Pits (738-9) mentions three other works of his, including *Grammaticam regiam* (which may have been the Latin grammar), but nothing of them is now known but the titles.

Our information that HUGH RHODES (*fl. circ.* 1550) was a native of this county, is derived from a statement in his work, *The boke of Nurture, or Schoole of good maners: for men, seruaunts, and children*, published some time before 1554.⁴² It is written partly in prose and partly in verse, and concludes thus: "Compyled by Hugh Rhodes of the Kinges Chappell" (where he was probably master of the choristers). In the opening lines of the metrical portion (9-12) he describes himself—

"Corrupt in speeche, be sure, am I,
my breefes from longes to know,
And born and bred in Deuonshyre to
as playne my tearmes doe show."

A careful examination of the work fails to prove that his

"tearmes" were specially those peculiar to Devonshire, and this is Mr. Elworthy's opinion.⁴³

Apart from the general advice and directions for the tuition of those to whom it is addressed, it contains many quaint sayings, proverbs, &c. Here is an example of a well-known proverb, with a singular variant of it.

"A byrde is better in thy hande,
then in Wood two or three."

* * * *

"A byrd in hand, as some men say,
is worth ten flye at large."

(E.E.T.S. 91, 98.)⁴⁴

On the authority of Warton (iv. 146), who must have seen a copy, Rhodes wrote a poem of 360 octavo stanzas, printed by John Cawood in 1555, and entitled "The Song of the Chyld-byssshop, as it was songe before the queenes maiestie in her priuie chamber at her manour of saynt James in the ffeeldes on saynt Nicholas day and Innocents day this yeare nowe present, by the chylde byssshope of Poules church with his company." London. 1555.

This was evidently a revival of the festival of the boy-bishop.⁴⁵ According to Warton it was "a fulsome panegyric on the queen's devotion." But "courtly adulation" of the reigning sovereign was a common proceeding, and even Elizabeth received many high-flown compliments.

The amount of literature relating to the Great Rebellion of the West in 1549, is remarkably small. The result of the examination of a large number of historical tracts made by Mr. Davidson (as recorded in his *Bibl. Devon*, 61), resulted in the discovery of four only. Of these, two are royal proclamations, dated respectively July 11th and 12th. The third, *A Message sent by the Kynge's Maiestie, to certain of his people, assembled in Devonshire*, dated the 8th of July, and printed by Richard Grafton. And the fourth, *A Cope of a letter contayning certayne newes, and the articles and requestes of the Devonshyre and Cornyshe rebelles*, B.L. (1549), dated "from a village, nygh Sainct Mary Otery, the xxvij of Julii." Then follow "The articles," signed by five "Chief Captaynes," and "the foure Gouvernours of the Campes," the names of the latter being "Jhon Thompson, Priest, Henry Bray Mayer of Bodman, Henry Lee Mayer of Torriton, Roger Barret Prieste." All four are exceedingly rare. Copies of the proclamations are in the British Museum; of the *Message*, in St. John's College, Cambridge; and of the *Letter*, in

Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The two latter are also in the library of the Hon. Mark Rolle at Stevenstone, who has kindly permitted the author to examine them.

We may close our notice of this period, with a brief account of the early history of the art and craft of printing in this county. The earliest notice of a printing press in Devonshire yet recorded, is in the year 1525, nearly fifty years after its introduction into England by Caxton, and employed at the great Benedictine monastery at Tavistock.⁴⁶ The proof of this is, that copies of two works printed there are still preserved. The first is a translation, made in 1410 by John Walton, Canon of Osney, of *De consolatione philosophicæ*, by Boethius,⁴⁷ under the title of *The Boke of Comfort*, and with this colophon at the end: "Emprented in the exempt monastery of Tauestok in Denshyre. By me Dan Rychard monke of the sayd Monastery. To the instant desyre of the ryght worshipful Esquier Mayster Robert Langdon, Anno D'MD xxv. Deo Graicas."⁴⁸

The second is, *The Confirmation of the Charter pertynyng to all the tynners wythyn the contey of Deuonshire*, printed there in 1534.⁴⁹ According to Timperly (*Hist. of Printing*, 234) "a book called the *Long Grammar*" was issued from the same press, "but no copy of it has been found."

The next authentic date obtainable, is from a return made in the year 1571, of provincial printers, to the Stationers' Company, and among the number is "Henry Rolte in Exeter." We gather from the entry that he had probably been established there some years earlier.⁵⁰

The earliest book at present known to have been printed in Exeter, is Fuller's *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*. "Exeter Printed for Thomas Hunt 1645," and thus recorded in the Author's Dedicatory Epistle: "Accept these grapes, if not for their Goodnesse, for their Novelty: though not sweetest rellisht, they are soonest ripe, being the First Fruits of Exeter prefe." In Plymouth the first printing press was set up in 1696. (Worth, *History of Plymouth* (1890) 464.)

Fifth Period, 1558-1640.

From whatever point it may be viewed, the period extending from the accession of Elizabeth to the meeting of the Long Parliament, is the most important—certainly from a literary point of view—in the history of England. A new phase of English life, a phase marked by intensity of feeling and

determined action, now commenced, which, from various causes, had been kept in subjection during the previous reigns. Men appeared for the first time to speak and to write freely, from the sudden removal of restraint. Owing to the rapid increase in the number of authors, it is deemed preferable to group them in classes, under the head of subjects. The first to treat of is that relating to Religious Matters; and the alterations in the forms of religion soon created a number of polemical writers. The man above all others, who may be said to have kindled the flame of religious controversy, was JOHN JEWEL (1522-1571), a native of Berryarbor, termed by Camden "the wonder of his age for Divinity, and a strenuous defender of the Reformed Religion." A Protestant exile in the reign of Mary, he returned to England in the first year of Elizabeth, and in the same year was nominated Bishop of Salisbury. Sermons delivered by him at Paul's Cross, in which he uttered a challenge to the Romish party, were published in 1560; and two years afterwards appeared his *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana*. It was written in Latin, "as it was intended for circulation on the Continent, where Elizabeth's proceedings had been systematically misrepresented."⁵¹ It is "the first methodical statement of the position of the Church of England against the Church of Rome, and forms the groundwork of all subsequent controversy."⁵² From this time to the year of his death (1571), Jewel's life was one of active literary controversy. Seven members of the Romish Church entered the lists against him,^{52a} only one of whom needs an extended notice, but he was the most doughty of them all. DR. THOMAS HARDING (1516-1572), born in North Devon (at Combe Martin or Bickington), had been to the same school as Jewel, and both were members of the same University. The latter fled to the Continent on the accession of Mary, and returned at her death. Under Mary, Harding became a Roman Catholic, and when she died, quitted England never to return.

In 1564 Harding published *An Answer to Maister Jvelles Challenge* of 1560, and in the following year *A Confutation* of Jewel's *Apology*. Those were followed by the publication of Jewel's two great works, *A Replie vnto M. Hardings Answer* (1565), and *A Defence of the Apologie of the Church of England* (1567). In these he replied to the whole of Harding's statements paragraph by paragraph.⁵³ We may form a faint estimate of the immense amount of labour expended in their composition from the fact, that the former

extends to 472, and the latter to 652, closely-printed pages (edit. of 1611), exclusive of prefatory and other matter. The literary duel between these controversialists (the subjects of which "involved the whole of the Romish controversy") continued with but little interruption until the death of Jewel in 1571, followed by that of his adversary in the following year. Of this controversy Hallam (i. 571) asserts, "in length and learning it far surpasses our earlier polemical literature." In learning and general abilities they were fairly equal, but Harding was at times rather scurrilous.⁵⁴ The two last-named works of Jewel were deemed so important by Archbishop Parker and others, that they were directed to be supplied to all churches in the kingdom for the use of the public, and many copies are still preserved, and occasionally with the chains that secured them to their desks. Bishop Jewel wrote many other works, sermons, commentaries, &c., only one of which is of present interest. In March, 1570, was published by Pius V., "the Bull of Excommunication and Deposition" against Elizabeth, "which had been secretly issued in the preceding year" (Green, ii. 38), and on May 15 following, a copy of it "was found nailed against the Bishop of London's door." (Froude, x. 59)⁵⁵ In reply to this, Jewel preached a sermon in Salisbury Cathedral (pub. in 1569), entitled, *A View of a Seditious Bull sent into England from Pius Quintus, Bishop of Rome*. His love of literature, other than polemical, he manifested in many ways, especially in the erection of a library for Salisbury Cathedral. Fuller thus tersely summed up his labours: "He wrote learnedly, preached painfully, lived piously, died peaceably."

In addition to Dr. Harding, there are several other Roman Catholic authors to mention, but none of great eminence.

How the burning religious questions of the day divided members of the same family, we have a well-marked example in the brothers William and John Rainolds or Reynolds, natives of Pinhoe, and "zealous maintainers both of the Reform'd and the Popish Religion in their turns." (Camden, *Britannia* (1695), 40).⁵⁶ "Strengthened by each other's arguments," exclaims Wood, "William turned a zealous Catholic, and John a strong Puritan." (i. 613.) WILLIAM RAINOLDS or REYNOLDS (-1594), the elder brother, translated the works of Dr. Harding into Latin, "but for want of money they could not be printed." (*Ibid.* i. 413.) He wrote several controversial works, published in Paris or Antwerp, and usually under the name of Will. Rossæus. The most

noteworthy (a posthumous one) is entitled *Calvino-Turcismus* (Antwerp, 1597), in which he "endeavours to prove that Calvin's religion is worse in condition, and less probable in reason, than that of the Turks." JOHN RAINOLDS or REYNOLDS, D.D. (1549-1607), Dean of Lincoln, is designated by Hallam (i. 572) "the most eminently learned man" of the reign of Elizabeth, and is regarded as one of the pillars of Puritanism. He was a very voluminous writer, and, with one notable exception, on religious subjects. Many of his works are of a controversial character, his best known being *The Summe of the Conference* (1584) between him and John Hart, a Roman Catholic priest, then in prison, "touching the head and the faith of the Church." (Ed. of 1609, 675 pages)⁵⁷ His *Judgment concerning Episcopacy whether it be God's Ordinance* (1598), on which his opinion was of an adverse character, was reprinted many years later (1641), when the subject became a prominent one by the action of Archbishop Laud.⁵⁸ Some of his Sermons were in series, such as those on *The Prophecie of Obadiah* (1613), and on *Haggai* (1649). At the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, between the Puritans and the English Churchmen, he was the leading member of the former. It led to a new translation of the Bible, and Rainolds was one of the most eminent of the translators.

"The ornament of Douay College," as Dr. Oliver terms ROBERT TURNER (-1599), was a native of Barnstaple; became a priest in 1574, and spent the remainder of his life abroad, principally at the University of Ingolstadt, of which he was first a professor, and afterwards the rector. To the English student he is well known as the author of a work (under the pseudonym of "Obertus Barnstaplensis"), in which he attempted to vindicate the character of Mary Queen of Scots, from the charge of being accessory to the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley, and in it she is termed "Martyr Ecclesiæ." (1588). This is thought to be a reply to a work by George Buchanan, published 16 years before (1572), relating to this murder, and to Mary's relations with Bothwell ("fœdo cum Botheulio Adulterio").⁵⁹ His other works (all in Latin), comprising Orations, Commentaries, Letters, and, in later editions, a Narrative of the Death of Edward Campion, who was executed for treason on December 1, 1581, were issued in a collected form in 1584, 1599, and 1604.⁶⁰

The last Roman Catholic to mention, EDWARD COFFIN or HATTON (1571-1626), S. J., was a native of Exeter, and the

author of several polemical and other theological works, an account of the death of Cardinal Bellarmine, and a translation of a work by him under the title of *The Art of Dying Well* (1621). His *Treatise in Defence of the Celibacy of Priests* (1619) was answered by Dr. Hall, the future Bishop of Exeter, in *The Honour of the Married Clergy Maintained* (1620).⁶¹ In 1623 appeared his *Marci Antonii de Dominis Archiepiscopi Spalatrensis Palinodia, quæ redditus sui ex Angliâ rationes explicat*, St. Omer.⁶² He usually wrote under the signature of C. E.

The present is perhaps the most fitting place to notice JOHN MOLLE (1557-1638), born in South Molton. He went with Lord Ross to Rome as travelling tutor, and died in the prison of the Inquisition there after a detention of thirty years. According to Fuller, "the pretence and allegation of his long and strict imprisonment was because he had translated *Du Plessis*, his book of *The Visibility of the Church* out of *French* into *English*." (*Ch. Hist.* bk. x. 48-9.) There is no record of its publication.⁶³ In the opinion of the Rev. J. Ingle Dredge, he also translated from the Latin of P. Camerarius, *The Living Librarie; or, Meditations and Observations Historical, Natural, Moral, Political, and Poetical*. "Done into English by J. Molle, Esquire: with some Additions by H. Molle, his Sonne." Fo. 1621, 1625.⁶⁴ Another copy (1621) bears the title of *The Walking Librarie*.

A bitter enemy to, and writer against, the Roman Catholics was JOHN GEE (1596-1639), son of John Gee, vicar of Dunsford. At first a Protestant, he became a Roman Catholic, and was one of the audience at the "Fatal Vespers" in Blackfriars on October 26th, 1623, when so many were killed.⁶⁵ He returned to Protestantism, and in the following year published *The Foot out of the Snare: with a detection of sundry late practices and impostures of the Priests and Jesuites in England*⁶⁶ (1624), the title of which is sufficiently indicative of the character of its contents. Four editions were issued in that year, the two latter having the addition of "a gentle excuse unto Master Musket for stiling him Jesuite"; as well as a supplementary work, *New Shreds of the Old Snare*. All these are now exceedingly rare, having, according to Wood (ii. 391), been "bought up by Roman Catholics before they were dispersed, for fear their lodgings, and so consequently themselves, should be found out and discovered," owing to the catalogue of their names and addresses being printed at the end of the book.⁶⁷ Judging from the number of editions, his most popular work was *Steps of Aseension; or, A*

Ladder to Heaven ; containing Prayers and Meditations for every Day in the Week, and for all other Times and Occasions (1625). Wood records the 27th edition in 1677, but assigns the authorship erroneously to EDWARD GEE (1565-1618), his uncle, Rector of St. Mary Tedburn (ii. 260), whose sole claim to literature consists in three printed sermons (posthumous).⁶⁸

Although the controversy between the two great religious bodies continued, and sometimes with great virulence when occasion offered, yet there were signs of its abating. Not so, however, in the instance of MATTHEW SUTCLIFFE, LL.D. (1550?-1629), Dean of Exeter for the long period of forty years.⁶⁹ He was the author of many disputations and other religious works, and wrote with determined vigour against the Romish Church, and especially against Cardinal Bellarmine, and Robert Parsons. His first work, *A Treatise of Ecclesiastical Discipline*, is dated 1590. He retorted on William Rainolds' *Calvino Turcismus*, already referred to, by publishing in the following year *De Turco-Papismo* (1599), "on the resemblance between Mahometanism and Popery." A volume entitled *The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of Armes, described out of the doings of most valiant and expert Capitaines* (1593), is assigned to him, but its character is so entirely different from his other writings, that if really his, it may be considered as having been a literary recreation, in the intervals of his more serious studies.⁷⁰

Two well-known Bishops of Exeter of this period, well known for their printed works, were not Devonians, and added but little to our county literature during their respective occupancy of the See. WILLIAM ALLEY, D.D. (Bp. of Exeter, 1560-1570), a native of Buckinghamshire, is best known as the author of *The Poore Man's Librarie*, written prior to his elevation to the See. He however claims our notice for his *Judgment concerning the doctrine and discipline of the Church* (1562);⁷¹ and as a revisor of the Book of Deuteronomy for the Bishops' Bible, printed in 1568. Of GERVASE BABINGTON, D.D.,⁷² a native of Notts, during the short time he was Bishop of Exeter we have no work to record. His writings were very popular, especially those on the Lord's Prayer and on the Commandments, and continued so up to the time of the Civil War. Although several editions of each were published, they are now very rare and are much in request, but all (with perhaps one exception) preceded his translation to Exeter.

We now come to a large group of religious works written

by Protestant clergymen, and as a rule differing in character from those already described. They consist mainly of sermons (usually of undue length), and of religious treatises; written for the most part by those who derived their inspiration from the Genevan School. As time rolled on, their writings became of a more pronounced Puritan type, both in their contents and titles, the latter often marked by painful alliteration, of which the following is a well-marked example:—*Munition against Mans Misery and Mortality a Treatise containing the most effectuall remedies against the miserable state of man in this life.* By "Richard Smyth preacher of Gods word in Barnstaple in Devonshire." 2nd ed., Oxford, 1612; 3rd ed., 1634. The first was probably issued on "Januarie 1, alias Newyeares day," of 1609. Of RICHARD SMYTH nothing more is known.

It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of all these writings, and names of the authors unnoticed here will be found in Appendices A and B.⁷³

A thick volume of the theological treatises of JOHN DOWNE, B.D. (1570 ?–1631), Vicar of Instow, was published in 1633–5, with a commendatory letter by Bishop Hall, and his funeral sermon by Dr. George Hakewill, "a neere neighbour and deere friend vnto him," containing all that is known of his history. He was born at Holsworthy. He is reported to have been a very learned man, and a good linguist.

Very little appears to be known of WILLIAM EST. (*fl. cire.* 1600.) He was instituted Rector of Bideford in 1592, and his printed works extend to the year 1617. All, except one, are religious treatises, and with Puritanical alliterative titles, such as *The Mirror of Merey* (1611), *Sathan's Sowing Season* (1611), *The Right Rule of a Religious Life, or the Glasse of Godliness* (1616). The exception is a translation of a work by B. Pirkheimer of Nuremberg, and entitled *The Praise of the Gout: or The Gouts Apology. A Paradox both pleasant and profitable.* (1617).⁷⁴ Probably written during his forced retirement for a time, owing to an attack of that malady. Nearly all his works are dedicated to Sir Bernard Grenville.

No divine of this county is better known by name than SAMUEL HIERON (1576 ?–1617), who, though not a born Devonian, we claim as Vicar of Modbury (1599–1617).⁷⁵ Although Puritan in principle, he adhered closely to the Church of England. All his works are on religious subjects, a few of them being controversial. Their popularity was well-marked. Although at first issued separately, they were

subsequently published in one large folio volume in 1614, and again in 1620 (upwards of 1300 pages) and 1635. Of his *Helpe vnto Devotion*, the Rev. J. Ingle Dredge gives particulars of twenty-two editions up to 1650, and probably there were some later issues. *Penance for Sinne, or David's Penitentiall Psalmes opened*, was perhaps his principal work. He was the author of *A Defence of the Ministers Reasons, for Refvsall of Subscription to the Booke of Common prayer and of Conformitie* (1607-8), published anonymously. It was a reply to several writers (divines) on the subject.⁷⁶

JOHN CARPENTER (-1621), a native of Cornwall, was instituted to the rectory of North Leigh, near Honiton, Sept. 23, 1587, and remained there till his death. He was the author of *The Plaine Mans Spirituall Plough* (1607), and other religious treatises, the principal one being *Schelomonocham, or King Solomen his Solace* (1606), dedicated to James I.⁷⁷ "Two godly and fruitfull sermons" entitled, *Remember Lot's Wife* (1588), were, singularly enough, dedicated to Mary, wife of Bishop Woolton. His son, NATHANAEL CARPENTER (1589-1628?), born at Northleigh,⁷⁸ one of the leading scientific men of his time, is recorded to have published only two treatises of a religious nature, first preached at Oxford as Sermons. One is *Achitophel, or The Picture of a Wicked Politician* (1627, 1659), of a politico-religious character, and very popular, as Mr. Dredge notes eight editions of it. Respecting this book, W. Prynne makes a singular statement in his *Canterburies Doome* (1646), "wherein were divers passages against Arminianisme, averring it to be planted among us by Jesuiticall Polititians to undermine our Religion by degrees, and covertly to introduce Popery it self: which Booke was presently called in, and all the passages against Arminianisme expunged by this Bishop's [Land's] Agents, which done, it was reprinted at London without them Anno 1629, to the great injury both of the truth and Author: as was attested by Mr. Prynne and Michaell Spark Senior, and evident to all who will compare these two Editions" (166). Wood (ii. 422) quotes from Prynne, "as a busy body saith." The other is *Chorazin and Bethsaida's Woe, or warning-Pecce.* (1633, 1640.)

JOHN CHARDON or CHARLDON (-1601) a Devonian born, according to Wood (i. 715), Vicar of Heavitree and Bishop of Down and Connor, was more celebrated as a preacher than a writer. He published several sermons, and translated a work by Cornelius Valerius, under the title of *The Casket of Jewels*, a treatise of moral philosophy.

Two thick folios of *Biblical Commentaries* on the *Proverbs of Solomon* (1638), and on the *Booke of Ecclesiastes* (1639), comprised the whole of the religious works of MICHAEL JERMIN (c. 1591-1659), born at Knowston.

A very learned and voluminous writer on many subjects was JOHN PRIDEAUX, D.D. (1578-1650), born at Stowford, near Ivybridge. He was Bishop of Worcester in 1641. Some of his works were written in Latin. Many of his sermons were published during his lifetime, but his other religious treatises, especially those of a controversial nature, were not printed until after his death.⁷⁹

One of the most eminent theological writers of his day was GEORGE HAKEWILL, D.D. (1578-1649), a native of Exeter. His earliest work, written at the age of twenty-eight, was *The Vanitie of the Eie* (1601, 1615, 1633), and is remarkable from the incident that led to its composition, having been penned for the comfort of a young lady who became blind from small pox. Several controversial works, sermons, and religious treatises of his were published, but several of his writings were never printed, much to be regretted, as he was a most able writer. Appointed chaplain to Prince Charles, he wrote *The Auncient Ecclesiasticall Practise of Confirmation* (1613), when the Prince was confirmed, and twelve sermons preached before him appeared in 1621, with the title *King David's Vow for Reformation of Himselfe, his Family, his Kingdome*. He expressed the general feeling of the English people in his *Treatise against the proposed match of the Prince with the Infanta of Spain*, which led to his banishment from court.⁸⁰ His literary fame rests on his *Apologie of the Power and Providencce of God in the Government of the World*. (1627.) Although of folio size, two other editions were issued (1630, 1635) with much additional matter.⁸¹ The work not only displayed his great learning and extensive reading, but was far in advance of the scientific opinions of his day; accordingly it led to some "Animadversions." The second portion of the title expressed its general character: "An Examination and Censvre of the Common Errovr tovrching Natvres perpetuall and Universall Decay." He refutes this opinion, and so far from decaying shows that the world is a progressive one. "There is," he affirms, "both in wits and Acts as in all things besides, a kinde of circular progresse as well in regard of places as times." He even foreshadows the great fact of the Correlation of Forces, so amply demonstrated during the present century, by the labours of Faraday, Grove, Tyndall, and others.⁸² It is certainly one of the

great works of the first part of the seventeenth century, and of its English it is sufficient to state that it "helped to form Johnson's style."⁸³

Historical events, local or general, occurring during this period formed the subject of many Devonian sermons. The "Gunpowder Plot" of 1605 was commemorated in this manner. Under the title of "The Rvine of God's Enemies," the Vicar of Modbury, S. HIERON, preached one on the anniversary, and while the event was vivid in men's memories, as, although undated, it must have been delivered before 1617. Another headed *Higgaion and Selah* (1621, 1636), was preached at Oxford by Dr. Prideaux, when Rector of Exeter College. While two works relating to the same plot were written by Dr. Geo. Hakewill.⁸⁴

The occasion of another of especial local interest is thus alluded to by F. Godwin:—"The City of Excester in memory of this their delivery [by the royal troops during the rebellion of 1549] hath ever sithence with an anniversary solemnity kept the sixt of August holy."⁸⁵ One of the commemorative sermons was delivered in 1594, by JOHN CHARDON or CHARLDON, D.D. (-1601), a Devonian (already noticed). Under the heading of *Felfordo et Felfordæ* it was published in the year following, and presented to Master Thomas Fulford (to whom it is dedicated) and his wife Ursula, "as a simple New-yeares gift." It is curious to note that the discourse relates mainly to the endowments of the clergy.⁸⁶ Probably a sermon continued to be delivered annually until the period of the Civil War.

During the episcopate of Bishop Hall "a dreadful plague ravaged Exeter, and the prodigious accumulation of dead bodies in St. Peter's Close (which was then, and had been from time immemorial, the common burial place of the citizens) threatened the most alarming consequences." Through the Bishop's exertions land for a new burial ground "in the Friernhay," was presented by the Mayor and Corporation, "and the spot was walled in, at the joint expence of the church and city." (According to a MS. in the Library of the Devon and Exeter Institution, the ground had "bin long vsed by the ffullers, with racks to hang their cloth in.") The Bishop consecrated it on Aug. 24, 1637, and the Sermon he preached on the occasion is printed in his *Works*, v. (426-442).⁸⁷

On the discovery of the Babington Conspiracy in 1586, JOHN RAINOLDS preached a thanksgiving Sermon "to the

public assembly of Scholars in the University of Oxon.," pub. in 1586 and 1613.

In all departments of literature writers will be found who delight in subjects out of the ordinary track. Of these we have two examples.

The first, WILLIAM TOOKER, D.D. (-1620), a native of Exeter, Canon of Exeter, and Dean of Lichfield, wrote a Latin work on *Touching for King's Evil* (1597), praised by Wood and Fuller;⁸⁸ one, entitled *Of the Fabrique of the Church and Church-mens Livings* (1604), fully one-half of which is devoted to the consideration of pluralities; and a third, in Latin, *Singulare Certamen cum Martino Beeano Jesuita*, &c. (1611) in which "he learnedly vindicates K. James I. in his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance," &c. (Prince, 736.) The other, JOHN REYNOLDS (*fl.* 1620), born in Exeter, and a merchant there, was the author of *The Triumphs of Gods Revenge against the crying and execrable sinne of Wilfull and Premeditated Murther*. (1621.) A very popular work, and passed through many editions. The second (1635) was considerably enlarged, by the addition of "Thirtie severall Tragicall Histories."⁸⁹ To the 6th (1679) was added, "Revenge against Adultery." Wood affirms the "Histories" to be "mostly taken from French printed copies, which" the author "had gathered in his travels into France." (ii. 149.) But this Reynolds, in his "Readvertise-ment to the Judicious Christian Reader" (1635) vehemently denies, whether in regard to "Matter, Manner, or Method, or Phrase, Place, or Persons," and declares he "composed and penned them according to the rule of" his "weak Fancie and Capacity." It is singular however that all are of foreign examples. He was also the author of *The Flower of Fidelity* (1650), a romance containing some poetical pieces. Some Translations from the French have been credited to him.⁹⁰

One of the most luminous as well as voluminous writers of the reign of Elizabeth, was JOSEPH HALL (1574-1656), "the Christian Seneca," as he has been termed. A native of Leicestershire, he became Bishop of Exeter Dec. 23, 1627, and remained in that see until his translation to Norwich in Nov. 16, 1641, a period of much trouble to the English Church.⁹¹ Although he wrote many Commentaries, Sermons, and politico-religious treatises, after he became a Bishop, the bulk of his literary labors belongs to his previous life.

One of his most charming Exeter works is entitled *Occasional Meditations*. (1634.) It consists of 140 short

articles in Latin, with an English translation to each, of a very miscellaneous character, and anything that struck him during his daily life he appears to have jotted down. Here are some of the titles:—"On the sight of a dial," "On the sound of a cracked bell," "On a red cross on a door," a sign of a plague-afflicted house, probably often seen by him. This is the commencement of a short article, "On the sight of a great library":—"What a world of wit is here packed up together! I know not, whether this sight doth more dismay, or comfort me: it dismays me, to think that here is so much, that I cannot know; it comforts me, to think that this variety yields so good helps, to know what I should. There is no truer word than that of Solomon; 'There is no end of making many books.' This sight verifies it. There is no end: indeed, it were pity there should." (*Works*, vi. 165-6.) Then follows, as in all the rest, some religious meditations on the subject, couched in most beautiful and trite language.⁹²

Another Exeter work is a large folio issued in 1633, a *Paraphrase on all the hard Texts from Genesis to Revelation*, which testifies to his eminent abilities as a Biblical commentator. One of his controversial volumes is called *The Old Religion: a Treatise wherein is laid downe the true state of the difference betwixt the Reformed and Roman Church &c.* (1628, 1633.) While never avoiding controversy, the tone he adopted was more peaceful in character than that of previous writers. He was ever ready to defend his Church in the pulpit and by his pen, and this ultimately brought him into collision with the Parliament. Being a moderate Puritan, he was not favored by Laud, who, however, directed him to write the politico-religious essay, *Episcopacy by Divine right asserted*, but Laud altered much of it before it was printed in 1640, and as Hall was regarded as the tool of the latter, it led to both of them incurring the ill will of the Puritan party. It was probably one of the events that led to and culminated in the execution of the former on January 10th, 1645. Hall subsequently published *An Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament, by a dutiful son of the Church* (1640), wherein he warmly defended Episcopacy as of "Divine institution," and upheld the English Liturgy. This led to an active controversy between him and a section of the Puritans under the uneuphonious name of Smectymnus,⁹³ memorable for the prominent part that Milton subsequently took in it. Between 1640 and 1642, thirteen different works appeared, of which three or four were by Hall and five by

Milton, whose first dated treatise (1641) is of interest for being amongst the earliest of his prose works.⁹⁴

The last of the religious writers to notice, the one who towers above all others of this burning period, and who obtained and still retains the respect of all sects and classes ("the first really great name in English theology since the Reformation," affirmed Mr. Gladstone in *The Romanes Lecture*, 1892), is RICHARD HOOKER (1554?-1600), the nephew of John Hooker, the Exeter historian, born at Heavitree, and whom Hallam (ii. 200) designates "the finest as well as the most philosophical writer of the Elizabethan period." His literary life is all that concerns us here, and though some of his sermons and other theological works have been published, his *Ecclesiastical Polity* is the only one needing our attention, and is that on which rests his great literary fame.

Passing over the details of his early life, we find him appointed Master of the Temple in 1585, where he officiated at the morning services, his sermons being those of a moderate Churchman. In the afternoons, Walter Travers, an unsuccessful Candidate for the Mastership, continued to lecture, and as he was an advanced Puritan, we are not surprised at Fuller's remark, that "the Pulpit spake pure Canterbury in the Morning, and Geneva in the Afternoon." (i. 264.) Travers was ultimately silenced, but the controversy had the effect of inducing Hooker to write a work that should "supply the Elizabethan settlement of English ecclesiastical government with a philosophical and logical basis." (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxvii. 293.) Weary of personal controversy, and convinced that he was unable to prosecute his studies at the Temple, he applied to the Archbishop to remove him, and in his letter to him—an evidence of his charitable and peace-loving character—he remarks, "I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place, and indeed God and Nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. . . . I . . . have begun a Treatise, in which I intend the satisfaction of others, by a demonstration of the reasonableness of our Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; and therein laid a hopeful foundation for the Church's peace. . . . but . . . I shall never be able to finish what I have begun, unless I be removed into some quiet country parsonage, where I may see God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat mine own bread in peace and privacy."⁹⁵ His request was complied with, and he was presented with the rectory of Boscombe, Wilts, in 1591, and there completed and published the first four books of his

great work. In 1595 he was translated to Bishopsbourne, in Kent, where he died in 1600. A fifth book was published in 1597, and the remaining three after his death. The doubts as to his authorship of the latter appear to be due to the lack of careful revision by him, such as the former received.

Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* is a learned and elaborate philosophical defence of the Church of England, and, states Buckle, "is still considered one of the bulwarks of our national church." In it he shows that "a divine order exists not in written revelation only," according to the Puritan system, "but in the moral relations, the historical development, and the social and political institutions of men." (Green, iii. 30.) An epitome of its contents is simply impossible in this Address. Some of its characteristics are its humble, unaffected piety; its charity (as in his pulpit), speaking kindly of those who differed from him; its plain but forcible language; its "grandeur and stateliness of style which raised him to the highest rank among English prose writers"; its truthfulness and purity. One example of his style may be cited—the opening passage of his work, "He that goeth about to persuade a Multitude, that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of Regiment is subject; but the secret lets and difficulties, which in publick proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider." Many a modern politician might, if he would, learn wisdom from Hooker. He died almost with pen in hand, with the satisfaction of feeling that he had lived to complete his great literary task. In several respects his closing scene has a parallel in that of another great English theological writer, the Venerable Bede, many centuries before, as related by his disciple Cuthbert.

He must ever be regarded, records M. Taine, "not only as one of the fathers of the English Church, but as one of the founders of English prose" (*Hist. of Eng. Lit.* ii. 190); and, we may add, as a great and good man, faithful in the discharge of a great duty, and one of the worthiest of the sons of Devon.⁹⁶

Turning from Religious Literature to that of Poetry, we shall find that Devonshire had during this period few poets, but many versifiers.⁹⁷ Some of the latter were more celebrated in other fields of literature, e.g., N. CARPENTER,

J. DOWNE, W. KEMPE.⁹⁸ Even good SAMUEL HIERON must be classed as a versifier, and not as a poet, as will be apparent from the following example, taken from his *Answer to a Popish rhyme, Lately scattered abroad in the West parts, &c.* (1624):

"To draw Disciples is no marke,
For so doth many a famed Clarke,
The Church to truth which doth conuert,
We doe embrace with all our heart."

THE REV. T. BRICE (-1570), claimed by Mr. Chanter as a native of this county, published in 1559, *The Register of all them that were burned*, 1553-1558,⁹⁹ in seventy-six six-line stanzas.

"The dead season of poetry" lasted from Chaucer to the middle of the 16th century. Its resuscitation dates from 1557, when a publisher named Tottel issued a *Miscellany*, containing a collection of "Songs and Sonettes," printed for the first time, and the issue of eight editions of the work in ten years, shows the great success it met with. Sonnets in English had never before appeared in England. They were the work of gentlemen who wrote for their own pleasure, and circulated their MSS. among those of their own circle, without any thought of publication. Most of the writers are unknown, but two of the principal contributors to the *Miscellany* were the Earl of Surrey and Sir T. Wyatt, the introducers of the sonnet into England from Italy.¹⁰⁰ It speedily became naturalised in this country, and the first to use it in Devonshire, and, as far as we know, the earliest poet of this period belonging to our county was SIR WALTER RALEGH¹⁰¹ (1552-1618), born in East Budleigh parish, whose earliest known literary piece is an eighteen-line stanza by "Walter Raweley of the middle Temple, in commendation of the Steele Glas" of his friend, George Gascoigne, published in 1576, and commencing—

"Swete were the sauce, would please ech kind of tast."¹⁰²

It is remarkable that although only in his twenty-fourth year, he should have penned the following couplet in it, doomed in his case to be prophetic—

"For who so reapes, renoune aboue the rest,
With heapes of hate, shal surely be opprest."

We have evidence that he could and did essay several kinds of poetry. Of the pastoral form we have the beautiful reply to Kit Marlowe's "Come live with me and be my love," and both pieces must be well known to the readers of

Walton's *Complete Angler*. "His reply to Marlowe," remarks the Rev. S. Hannah, "remains even yet unrivalled as the retort of polished common-sense to the conventionalities of pastoral poetry." (*Courtly Poets* (1870), xx.) Here is the first verse—

"If all the world and love were young,
And truth in every shepherd's tongue,
These pretty pleasures might me move
To live with thee and be thy love."¹⁰³

To him poetry was a recreation, the offspring of an idle hour, and he never appears to have taken any trouble to preserve it.¹⁰⁴ With few exceptions, it is characterized by an absence of joyousness and vivacity, and the presence of a vein of melancholy. These features of it increased after the death of Elizabeth, when it became semi-religious and sometimes satirical. A man's life is often reflected in his poetical writings, and so it was with Raleigh. One important feature, alike in his prose compositions, is the absence of coarseness and scurrility.¹⁰⁵

Leigh Hunt affirmed Raleigh to be "a genuine poet," and to have written "one of the noblest sonnets in the language," the one entitled "A vision vpon this Conceit of the Faery Queene," printed among the commendatory verses in the first edition (1590) of Spenser's great poem. It commences

"Methought I saw the graue where Laura lay";

and is regarded by Dr. Grosart as "perhaps the greatest of tributes ever paid by one great man to another."¹⁰⁶

A poem written during one of his early imprisonments in the Tower, and known as "The Lie"—equally well known from its first line, "Go, soul, the body's guest"—is stated by Kingsley to be "one of the saddest of poems with its melodious contempt and life weariness." Another of his prison writings, "The Pilgrimage," is usually assigned to 1603, the first year of his imprisonment under James I. Edmund Gosse declares it to be "the most extraordinary and most brilliant of his poems." It commences thus—

"Give me my scallop-shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon
My scrip of joy immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,
My gown of glory, hope's true gage
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage."

The well-known lines usually termed his "Epitaph," from having been found in his Bible on the day of his execution, and thought to have been written at that period, were

discovered a few years since by Mr. A. H. Bullen, to have formed, all but the last couplet, a portion of an amatory poem, and probably this addition was made on the above occasion; an addition that will be found to give a different complexion to the whole composition.¹⁰⁷

The most memorable event in the literary life of Raleigh, was, when an exile from Court, his visit to Spenser in 1589. The latter has related in his "Colin Clout's come home again," how that Raleigh

" tooke in hond
My pipe before that emuled of many,
And plaid thereon; (for well that skill he cond)
Himselfe as skilfull in that art as any."

Spenser read to him all that he had penned of his *Faery Queen*, and Raleigh in turn read a poem of his own composed shortly before.

" His song was all a lamentable lay
Of great vnkindnesse, and of vsage hard,
Of *Cynthia* the ladie of the sea,
Which from her presence faultlesse him dehard." ¹⁰⁸

Cynthia (Queen Elizabeth) is the title of Raleigh's poem, of which a fragment is all that has been preserved.¹⁰⁹ As told by Spenser and Raleigh's biographers, the meeting of the poets is quite idyllic.

Raleigh recognised the great merit of Spenser, and induced him to return with him to England, where he presented him to the Queen. This resulted in Spenser's great pastoral romance being, as to its first portion, printed in the following year (1590), prefaced with a dedicatory letter to Raleigh, and the great sonnet of the latter. It was the practical admiration of one poet for the genius and greater talent of another. Raleigh's part in all this has received but scant acknowledgment.

Until the present century Raleigh was scarcely recognised as a poet, and his name was omitted from any list or collected lives of them. Sir E. Brydges was the first to attempt a collection of his poetry, and printed a volume of it in 1813, and again in the following year. Since then the Rev. Dr. Hannah, in 1845 and again in 1870, issued a revised collection.

The works of two poets of this period, and now but little known, require recognition. The first, HUMPHREY GIFFORD (*fl.* 1580), a native of Halsbury, published, in 1580, *A Posie of Gilloflowers, eche differing from other in colour and odour, yet all sweete*, embracing both prose and poetry,

the former consisting mainly of translations from the Italian and French: the latter of works "devotional, moral, and narrative." The following is an example of his poetry:—

"A woman's face is full of wiles,
Her tears are like the crocodile:
With outward cheer on thee she smiles,
When in her heart she thinks thee ill."¹¹⁰

The other, WILLIAM STRODE, D.D. (circ. 1600–1645), born at Plympton, was the immediate predecessor of Herrick as a song-writer. The beautiful example, "Hence, all ye vain delights," in Fletcher's play of *The Nice Valour*, is attributed to him; and according to Malone, "Milton evidently took the hint of his *L'Allegro* and *Penseroso* from it."¹¹¹ Some of his pieces were set to music by Henry Lawes.

The first Devonshire poet whose descriptions are wholly drawn from the scenic realities of his native county, especially of that portion "Neere Tavie's stragling spring," is WILLIAM BROWNE (1591–1643), of Tavistock. His literary fame rests mainly on his *Britannia's Pastorals*, his principal and probably earliest work, as the first book was written before he was 20 years of age ("not twice ten sunnes"). It consists of three books, sub-divided into sections or "songs." The first was issued about 1613, the second in 1616, and the third, shorter than the others, and inferior to them, probably from lack of revision, remained in MS. until 1852.¹¹² It not only reveals his intense admiration for Spenser, but the work was influenced by, and in many respects—more particularly as to the setting—is an imitation of, the great pastoral epic of the latter. It is a living panorama of rural scenery, not peopled, like Spenser's, with fairies, knights, and fair dames, but with Devon rustics and their love-making and folk-lore, as thus indicated by him:

"My Muse for lofty pitches shall not rome,
But homely pipen of her native home."

The narrative is however poor and uninteresting, as also are his characters; but these and other features are forgotten, writes Mr. A. H. Bullen, "when he sings of the trim hedges and garden walks of his native Devon." He receives the highest praise from Leigh Hunt for his pastoral writings.

A shorter pastoral of his, published in 1614, under the title of *The Shepherd's Pipe*, is celebrated for containing in the fourth eclogue, the beautiful monody on the death of Master Thomas Manwood, affirmed by Hazlitt to be one of "the most remarkable specimens of elegiac verse in the

language." (*Works*, i. xxv.) He also wrote *The Inner Temple Masque*, performed Jan. 13, 1614, according to the title, although no other record of its representation has been preserved. It was first printed in 1772. Although these three were his principal works, he is, at the present date, better known by some of his numerous minor pieces.

Who has not heard of

"Lidford lawe,
How in the Morne they hang and drawe,
And sitt in iudgment after"?

It must have been very popular during his lifetime, as his contemporary Tho. Westcote, mentions it as "commonly sung by many a fidler."¹¹³

Another, equally well known, is the epitaph—one of the most beautiful in the English language—on the Countess of Pembroke—

"Vnderneath this sable Herse
Lyes the subiect of all verse:
Sydneyes sister, Pembroke's Mother:
Death, ere thou hast slaine another,
Faire, and Learn'd, and good as she
Tyne shalt throw a dart at thee."

It is praise enough to know that it was long attributed to Ben Jonson.¹¹⁴ Browne was not only the friend and associate of his literary contemporaries, but he influenced even greater writers than himself. Milton was well acquainted with his writings, and must have entertained a high opinion of him, as modern writers affirm that some portions of *L'Allegro* are imitated from the *Pastorals*; and *Lycidas*, *Comus*, and *Paradise Regained* contain passages suggested by Browne's writings.¹¹⁵ Keats and Mrs. Browning were also influenced by him. The latter, in her *Visions of Poets*, exclaims—

"Drayten and Browne, with smiles they drew
From outward Nature, to renew
From their own inward nature true."

When it is remembered that he wrote very little after the year 1616, that is to say, after he was 26 years of age, his success so early in life is very remarkable.¹¹⁶ Ben Jonson wrote some commendatory lines to the second book of Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, containing the following, which may fitly close our notice of this Devonshire poet.

"I wou'd
Mere of our Writers would, like thee, not swell
With the *how much* they set forth, but th' *how well*."¹¹⁷

The last of our county poets of this period is ROBERT HERRICK (1591-1634), born in London. We cannot rightly understand the remarkable antitheses in the character of his poetical writings, unless we take into consideration the varied circumstances of his early life. Born in 1591, he obtained the degree of B.A. at Cambridge in 1617, and in 1629 became Vicar of Dean Prior, in this county. There is a gap in the story of his life of these twelve years, partly told or indicated by his poetry. Ejected from his living by the Puritans in 1647 he went to London, and in the year following published his collected poems. He was restored to his living in 1662, and died in 1634. His poems—a few of which had been published previously—were issued in two divisions, the *Hesperides*, secular, and the *Noble Numbers*, religious. The Registers of the Stationers' Company prove that he had taken steps to procure their publication before he left Devonshire, as they record that on April 29, 1640, was licensed for printing "The severall Poems written by Master Robert Herrick." (Ed. Arber iv. 483.) Although he lived for a quarter of a century after their publication, we have no account of any subsequent poetry of his. Of the two divisions named, his fame as a poet rests mainly on the *Hesperides*, written in a natural, flowing manner, and presenting a marked contrast to the more laboured compositions in the *Noble Numbers*. It consists of 1131 short poetical pieces, varying in length, miscellaneous in character, and without any attempt at arrangement. In the introductory "Argument of his Book" is a brief list of the contents.

"I sing of brooks, of blossoms, birds and bowers,
Of April, May, of June and July flowers,
I sing of May-poles, hock-carts, wassails, wakes,¹¹⁸
Of bridegrooms, brides, and of their bridal cakes," &c.

If he had restricted his lines to these subjects, and had not gone beyond what he terms "cleanly-wantonness," it had been better for his future fame. Unfortunately, they are intermingled with epigrams and other pieces as coarse as anything attributed to Sedley or Rochester, and although he could write such lines as these—

"For those my unbaptised rhymes,
Writ in my wild unhallowed times; . . .
Forgive me, God, and blot each line
Out of my book that is not Thine,"

he apparently made no attempt to omit his "unbaptised rhymes" from the printed collection. As it is, his principal

work may be likened to the gardens of the Hesperides, in containing some of the most beautiful flowers, intermingled with and marred by the most dank and noisome weeds.

Before he became a resident of Devon he was the friend and associate of Ben Jonson at—

"Those lyric feasts
Made at the Sun,
The Dog, the Triple Tunne,"¹¹⁹

and we may fairly assign to this period—between 1617 and 1629—his Bacchanalian and coarser poems, when his practical motto was to enjoy life while he could, as expressed by him in the poem "On himself"—

"This day Ile down all sorrow;
Who knowes to live to-morrow."

His "Best to be merry," "Fill me a mighty bowl," "Welcome to sack," belong to these years. "Farewell to sack" was probably written immediately before leaving London for Devonshire. The time he spent at Dean Prior is generally thought to have been irksome to him, on account of his expressed discontent "in this dull Devon-shire," as well as in pieces like his "Banishment into the loathed West," "Come leave this loathed Country-life"; but this dislike of the country must not be accepted too literally. Probably, occasional disagreements with his parishioners (indicated by some of his epigrams upon them), as well as other causes of discontent, may have led him to vent his feelings in poetry; and when on the eve of leaving he penned his farewell to Dean Bourn, and alludes to his parishioners as "A people currish, churlish as the seas," it was probably a kind of antithesis to the anticipated pleasures on his return to London, as shown in "His returne to London," anticipations that were not realised. But this antagonism was intermittent only, as shown by the lines "His Content in the Country," and "The Country Life," the latter commencing—

"Sweet country life, to such unknown
Whose lives are others', not their own!"¹²⁰

It is however when we examine his true poetry—his songs,—that this becomes more manifest. Unless Herrick had enjoyed the country and country life, and had an intense love of flowers, revelling in their beauty and fragrance, he could not have written the songs he did. No one has more exquisitely or lovingly described, in a few lines, the peculiar

charm of the rural poetry of "Rare old Herriek, the Cavalier Vicar," than Mortimer Collins:

"None ever touched with as fine a finger
The delicate lyre of English rhyme,
He loved amid fresh flowers to linger,
And he made their fragrance last through time."

His position as a poet has been thus well defined by Swinburne:—"He is and will probably be always the first in rank and station of English song-writers"; and again, he is "the greatest song-writer—as surely as Shakespeare is the greatest dramatist—ever born of English race." Who does not love to dwell on such exquisite lines as these?

"Gather ye rosebuds while ye may,
Old Time is still a-flying:
And this same flower that smiles to-day
To-morrow will be dying."

The *Hesperides* contains many such, e.g., "Cherry ripe," "Goe, happy rose," "Ye have been fresh and green." The work is full of gems: here is one, an epitaph on a child:

"Here a pretty baby lies
Sung asleep with lullabies,
Pray be silent, and not stir
Th' easy earth that covers her."

Village customs, fairy folk-lore, seasonable festivities, domestic matters, all find a place in his work. Some historical events are also recorded—in a few instances they relate to years between 1640 and 1647.

The *Noble Numbers* contains less favourable specimens of his genius. "His Letanie," and the piece commencing "Lord, Thou hast given me a cell," are among the best. It is much smaller than the *Hesperides*, and has 271 separate poems.¹²¹

The accession of Elizabeth was soon attended with the commencement of our modern Drama, customarily dated from January 18, 1562, when in her presence was performed, at the Inner Temple, the tragedy of *Gorboduc*.¹²² Men's minds were a-hungered to replace the miracle plays and moralities of the previous reigns. The recognition of this new form of dramatic representation by the Queen, speedily led to other plays by a new race of writers, the dramatists, the predecessors of Shakespeare, University wits who led wild Bohemian lives; and from the pens of Marlowe, Peele, Greene, Lyly, and others, drama followed drama in rapid succession. One of these founders of the Elizabethan drama

was a Devonian—GEORGE PEELE (1553?–1599), stated by Wood (i. 688) to be a Devonshire man.¹²³ He wrote many plays, masques, and poetical works, and a volume of *Merry Conceited Jests* (posthumous) is also attributed to him, but on slender grounds. A favourable specimen of his work as a poet, is *A Farewell to Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake*, when starting on their expedition to Portugal in 1589. He was the author of several masques between 1585 and 1591, three of which have come down to us, and the title of a fourth is recorded in the Registers of the Stationers Company.¹²⁴ It is, however, as a playwright that he is best known to fame. Six of his plays have been preserved, with the title of a seventh. A version of the *Taming of a Shrew* has also been attributed to him, as well as to R. Greene and to Shakespeare.¹²⁵

His first dramatic work, and, in the opinion of his most recent editor, his best, was *The Arraignment of Paris*, published in 1584, written in a very easy style and with much luxuriant fancy, terminating with some fulsome adulation of the Queen. His first historical play of *Edward I.*, printed in 1593, was probably due to the success of Marlowe's *Edward II.*, and is termed by Hallam (ii. 175) "a gross tissue of absurdity with some facility of language, but nothing truly good." It outrages the memory of Queen Eleanor, by her committal of a murder and subsequent denial of it, upon which she sinks into the earth at Charing Cross and rises again at Queenhithe; incidents shown in the play.¹²⁶ Another historical tragedy that appeared in the following year, and adhered more closely to recorded facts, was *The Battell of Alcazar*, fought in 1578 in Barbary, between the King of Portugal and the King of Morocco: of additional interest to Devonians for being the death scene of that free-lance Captain Tho. Stukeley.¹²⁷ Collier regards it as the oldest of his plays, and written soon after Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, which it strove to imitate in its high-flown and bombastic language.¹²⁸ In 1595 appeared *The Old Wives Tale*, termed "a pleasant conceited Comedie," and one of his most attractive pieces. "A sort of child's story, told with a poet's playfulness." (Morley.) It is not divided into acts and scenes. Some have thought that Milton took the idea of his *Comus* from it, owing to the similarity of the leading incident—two brothers in quest of a sister, confined by an enchanter—but probably each borrowed it from an earlier source.

The last of his dramas, *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe*, *With the Tragedie of Absalon*, was published in

1599, the year of the poet's death. It does not deviate from the Scriptural history. Its great merit is its harmonious versification. It "vies in tenderness and poetic beauty with any of the plays" of Marlowe. It is probably the last play that was founded on Scripture.¹²⁹

While the Elizabethan dramatists drew many of their plots from Italian novelists, especially from *The Palace of Pleasure*, (trans.) by W. Painter (1567-1575), Peele proved to be an exception. He must however have been well acquainted with the works of Ariosto, and other Italian authors, as he quotes from *Orlando Furioso* in his *Edward I.*, and in *The Old Wives Tale*; and the only speech made by Helen, in *The Arraignment of Paris*, is in Italian. His writings do not possess the coarseness or terrific descriptions of some of his contemporaries, notably of Marlowe. While in genius he was below the latter, he was above Greene and the rest of his dramatic brethren, Shakespeare excepted. In forming an estimate of his powers, we must remember that he preceded Shakespeare by some years, and died at the early age of 41. Knowing this, we can better appreciate Collier's summary of his literary character, that "he had an elegance of fancy, a gracefulness of expression, and a melody of versification, which in the early part of his career was scarcely approached." (*Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry*, iii. 191.)

A play entitled *Dick of Devonshire*, and generally attributed to T. Heywood (~1650), long existed in MS., and was printed for the first time in A. H. Bullen's *Collection of Old English Plays* (1883), ii. 1-99.¹³⁰ It relates to the adventures of "Dicke Pike the Devonshire Soldier," and is simply a dramatised version of a work by RICHARD or "MANLY" PEEKE (*Jl.* 1625), of Tavistock, published in 1626, with the title "*Three to One. Being an English-Spanish Combat, Performed by a Westerne Gentleman, of Tauystoke in Devon shire, with an English Quarter-Staffe against Three Spanish Rapiers and Poniards at Sherries in Spaine. The fiftene day of Nouember, 1625 written in homely language, proceeding from fingers fitter for the pike than the pen.*"¹³¹

The list of dramatists of this period contains the names of two Devonshire divines, who subsequently became Doctors of Divinity. The first, WILLIAM STRODE, D.D., (1600-1645) (already noticed among the poets), on the occasion of the Court retiring to Oxford, owing to an outbreak of Plague in London in 1636, delivered, as the Public Orator of the University, "a most eloquent oration" before the King, Charles I., who, in the hall of Christ Church on the

evening of the same day (Aug. 25) saw the performance of a comedy, written by Strode, called *Passions calmed: or The Settling of the Floating Island*, and directed against the Puritan body. It was not printed until 1655, "when anything written against the Puritans would find a ready sale amongst Royalists."¹³²

The second, JASPER MAYNE, D.D. (1604-1672), a native of Hatherleigh, although the author of some translations, poetry and sermons, is best known as the writer of two plays.¹³³ The first, *The City Match*, a comedy, was acted before the King and Queen at Whitehall, in 1639, and printed in the same year. Pepys saw it acted in 1668, and called it "a silly play." One of its scenes is as coarse as anything produced during the Restoration. His second, *The Amorous Warre*, a Tragi-comedy, although not published till 1648, was probably written before he became Vicar of Cassington, in 1642. Halliwell records the plot to be "inartificially constructed, and at the same time grossly improbable." (*Dict. of Old Plays*, 16.)

The last of the Devon dramatists to notice is JOHN FORD¹³⁴ 1586-*fl.*1639), born at Ilstington, of whose personal history or date of death nothing is known. He was a voluminous writer, commencing with a long and tedious elegy on the Earl of Devonshire, entitled *Fames Memoriall*, published in his 21st year, and introducing an early love sorrow of his own. In addition to some minor poetical pieces, he wrote two prose works, *Honor Triumphant* (1606), containing some poetry, and a moral treatise termed *A Line of Life* (1620), neither of which need special comment.¹³⁵ He was a powerful dramatic writer, his fame resting mainly on seven plays which have descended to us. Four of his MSS. were burnt by Mr. Warburton's cook; and in co-operation with Dekker, and others, he was also part author of five. Probably he wrote several more.¹³⁶ According to his own statement, "the first" piece of his that ever courted reader, was *The Lover's Melancholy* (1628), but this must refer to publication, as *All Ill Beginning*, &c., was acted in 1613. Some of its descriptions are drawn from other writers. From Burton's well-known work, the account of the nature of melancholy, and an interlude, termed "The Masque of Melancholy," are derived. The story of the contention between a musician and a nightingale (act i. sc. i.), in which the latter was "ordain'd to be Music's first martyr," is founded on a passage in the *Proclusiones* of F. Strado, an Italian Jesuit (1572-1649), and in the opinion of Lamb is

"almost as fine as anything in Beaumont and Fletcher."¹³⁷ In his three tragedies, *'Tis Pity, &c.*, *The Broken Heart*, and *Loue's Sacrifice*, we recognize the Italian influence in their plots. Although the first named is said to display "the subtlest qualities of his genius," the nature of the plot renders it impossible to be presented to a modern audience. Of the second, Lamb remarks, "I do not know where to find in any play a catastrophe so grand, so solemn, and so surprising as in this."¹³⁸ And of both, N. Drake declares, "Scarcely Shakespeare himself has exceeded him in the excitement of pathetic emotion . . . they are noble specimens of dramatic genius." (*Shakespeare and his Times*, ii. (563-4.) He wrote one historical play, *The Chronicle Historie of Perkin Warbeck* (1634), commended for being well planned and equably written."¹³⁹

The least satisfactory of his works are his two comedies, *The Fancies Chast and Noble* (1638), and *The Ladies Trial* (1639), probably his last productions. They show that Ford was destitute of humour, and had no sense of the *vis comica*.¹⁴⁰ Massinger was "second only to Shakespeare," declares Hallam: Ford's place, although doubted by some, was in tragedy certainly next to Massinger. Had there been no Shakespeare, Ford would have been much more highly esteemed. He has less coarseness than many of his contemporaries. He took great pains in the elaboration of his scenes and characters, nevertheless his work, except in *Perkin Warbeck*, is very unequal. Dyce remarks of one of his plays (applicable to nearly all), it "has no medium; all that is not excellent, is intolerably bad." Occasionally he is very bombastic, of which a remarkable example occurs in the opening scene of *The Lover's Melancholy*—

"To bestride
The frothy forms of Neptune's surging waves,
When blustering Boreas tosseth up the deep
And thumps a thunder-bounce."¹⁴¹

The sudden rise and rapid progress of the Elizabethan drama, soon met with serious opposition from the divines of the Genevan School. The causes of this are pointed out in a forcible manner by J. R. Green (ii. 467-8):—

"The features of our drama that startled the moral temper of the time and won the deadly hatred of the Puritans, its grossness and profanity, its tendency to scenes of horror and crime, its profuse employment of cruelty and lust as grounds of dramatic action, its daring use of the horrible and the unnatural whenever they

enable it to display the more terrible and revolting sides of human passion, were derived from the Italian stage."

The earliest known printed attack upon plays and players is that of John Northbrook, a minister, in 1577 or 1578, followed by J. Gosson's *School of Abuse* (1579), Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), and others to the close of Elizabeth's reign,¹⁴² one of the important contributors being the celebrated Devonian, Dr. J. RAINOLDS (1549-1607.) In 1581, a Latin play named *Melcager*, written by Dr. W. Gager, was acted in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford, and was subsequently repeated. On being printed in 1592, a copy was sent to Dr. Rainolds; this was followed by an interchange of letters, culminating in the publication by the latter of the well-known and, considering its subject, the temperately written work, *Th'overthrow of Stage Playes*.¹⁴³ Although finished in 1593, it was not published until 1599, "probably on account of the new interest attracted to the subject by the project of building the Fortune Theatre." (Collier, *Op. cit.* ii. 218.) In his Address to the Reader, the Printer affirms, "I have been informed . . . that Maister Gager himself vpon the last rejoinder of Maister Rainoldes hath let goe his hold, and in a Christian modestie and humilitie yeelded to the truth, and quite altered his iudgement." This work remained unanswered until 1612, when T. Heywood issued his *Apology for Actors*, to which J. Green replied in 1615, and in 1633 appeared Prynne's celebrated *Histriomastix*. The crowning act of the Puritans was the Ordinance, issued in 1647, for "The utter suppression and abolishing of all Stage Playes." This can scarcely be regarded with surprise, considering the progressive decadence of the stage in the time of Charles I., when the unbridled coarseness of a play like *The City Match* could be sanctioned by those in authority, and acted before Royalty.¹⁴⁴

Another antagonist of Dr. Gager was WILLIAM HEALE (1581?-1627), a native of South Hele, who published in 1609, *An Apologie for Women; or, an opposition to Mr. Dr. G[ager] his assertion . . . who held in the act at Oxforde 1608, That it was lawfull for husbands to beate their wives*. Gager's assertion is attributed to his disappointment at not receiving a fortune from his uncle, due "to the action of his uncle's wife." Wood remarks of Heale, "he was always esteemed an ingenious man, but weak, as being too much devoted to the female sex" (ii. 89), from which it may be inferred that Wood sided with Gager.

The Broadside Ballads and Chap Book Literature, so exceedingly common in the 17th century, had their origin in the preceding one, when the Itinerant Minstrel and the Running Stationer circulated in the cheapest possible form, accounts of historical and local occurrences, &c., in verse and prose. The earliest Devonshire ballads known describe a murder, that of Page of Plymouth, committed by Geo. Strangwidge and two hired murderers, at the instigation of Page's wife, which caused a good deal of excitement at the time. They were tried at Barnstaple, condemned, executed, and buried in the churchyard there in March, 1591. Several ballads on the subject were printed in the same year, and others, as well as a prose chap-book, followed. The first, headed "The Lamentation of Master Page's wife of Plim-mouth," was written by Tho. Deloney, a celebrated ballad-writer of his day. Ben Jonson and Dekker wrote a play upon it, frequently acted, but never published.¹⁴⁵ The tune to which the ballads were sung ("Fortune my foe"), was known as "The hanging tune;" so-called because the broadside verses printed on the execution of a criminal were sung to it. This throws some light on the remark of Winstanley that when Raleigh was being favoured by the Queen, his enemies "began to take his sudden favour for an allarum, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his; which made him shortly after sing, *Fortune my foe*," &c. (*England's Worthies* (1684) 298.)¹⁴⁶ The following local occurrences were recorded in this manner; the murder of Sir John Fitz in 1605, the burning of Tiverton in 1612, the execution of Sir W. Raleigh in 1618.¹⁴⁷ In the second book of his *Britannia's Pastorals* (song 1, date about 1616) our Devon poet, W. Browne, thus describes the itinerant ballad-seller of his day, chanting his wares:

"As Ballad mongers on a Market-day
Taking their stand, one (with as harsh a noyse
As euer Cart-wheele made) squeakes the sad choice
Of Tom the Miller with a golden thumbe,
• • • •
Halfe part he chants, and will not sing it out."

The list of Devonshire authors on Legal Subjects, during this period, is a small one, but the works are important. The first to notice, JOHN COWELL (1554-1611), born at Ernsborough, wrote two volumes¹⁴⁸ during the time he held the Regius Professorship of Civil Law at Cambridge. One, *The Institutes of the Laws of England* (1605) in Latin, written

after the method of Justinian, was popular enough to run through six Latin editions, and one English, up to the year 1676. The second, published in 1607, caused some commotion in the political world, and bore the title of *The Interpreter: or Booke containing the Signification of Words: Wherein is set foorth the true meaning . . . of such Words and Termes, as are mentioned in the Lawe Writers, or Statutes, &c.* A valuable glossary to old Law Books. Three years later, the attention of the House of Commons was called to some of the statements in it, especially to those under the headings of "King," "Parliament," and "Prerogative,"¹⁴⁹ which were assumed to affect their privileges, of which they were very sensitive. It is believed that Coke was the occasion of this, and it is thought he was offended at Cowell, for drawing up "Reasons, &c., against the too frequent grants of prohibitions" (under the direction of Abp. Bancroft), under the title of *Articuli Cleri*.¹⁵⁰ That Coke disliked him is apparent from the following punning allusion by Fuller: "A grand oracle of the Common Law [Coke] was pleased in derision to call him Doctor Cow-heele; and a Cow-heele (I assure you) well dress'd is good meat, that a Cook (when hungry) may lick his fingers after it." (i. 262.)

At a time when the King's assumption of arbitrary power was being resented by the Commons, it is no wonder that the latter were highly incensed against Cowell. We may judge of this by a statement in a letter, reported in Winwood's *Memorials*, iii. 125, under date March 1st, 1609-10, "That if the King will give them leave (as by Petition they have desired it of him) to proceed by their authority against the said Cowell, it is thought they will go very near to hang him."¹⁵¹

Cowell's definitions, certainly agreed with the King's notions of his absolute freedom of action in the government of the kingdom. However, James had so far to succumb to the Commons, as in the end to issue a proclamation (on March 26th), suppressing the work. Spelman (*Glossarium*, sub "Tenura"), affirms that the books were ordered to be publicly burnt (*libri ejus sunt combusti*), and other authors have accepted this statement, but there is no corroboration of this, and it is not alluded to in the proclamation. The death of the author in the following year was probably hastened by the worry and trouble he incurred.

The work was republished in 1637, and many editions followed, the title of some of the latter being altered to *A Law Dictionary*. Hallam declares that the objectionable

"passages are expunged in the later editions" (*Const. Hist.* i. 325), a statement relied upon for correctness (*vide Dict. Nat. Biog.* xii. 375), but such is not the fact, and a careful collation of the original edition with that of 1637, shows the latter to be an unexpurgated one. It is simply a reprint, and no one appears to have noticed the re-appearance of the obnoxious entries.

SIR JOHN DODDRIDGE or DODERIDGE (1555-1628), born at Barnstaple, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, and the third great literary lawyer of Devon, wrote many legal, constitutional, and antiquarian works, none of which were published during his lifetime, so careless was he of literary fame.¹⁵² His principal one, published the year after his death, and called *The Lawyer's Light* (1629), was republished in an extended form in 1631, under the title of *The English Lawyer, describing a Method for the managing of the Lawes of this Land*, a manual for students. Many other noticeable books emanated from his pen, of which the following may be specially mentioned: *A Compleat Parson*, "a description of Advowsons and Church livings"¹⁵³ (1630, 1641); *The History of the Ancient and Moderne Estate of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester* (1630) relating mainly to the Prince of Wales' revenue, what it "hath beene, what it now is, and how impaired"; *The Law of Nobility and Peerage* (1658),¹⁵⁴ an enlargement of *The Magazine of Honor* (1642), the composition of another author (a treatise on "The Antiquities, Titles, Degrees, and Distinctions" of the Nobility); and *The Office and Duty of the Heralds in England*, printed in T. Hearne's *Curious Discourses*. (1720.) He was one of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries. According to Prince he revised for the press Hooker's *Chorographical Description of Devon*. (302, 3.)

The last legal work to mention, is a Latin treatise *On the Roman Law* (1653), by SIR ARTHUR DUCK (1580-1648), a native of Heavitree, in which he was assisted by Gerard Langbaine. It was translated into English in 1724, and, according to Hallam, is "a succinct and learned, though elementary and popular treatise." (ii. 548.)

The subject of Parliamentary Matters introduces us for the first time to the eminent Exeter antiquary, well known under his triad of names of JOHN HOOKER, HOKER, or VOWELL (1526?-1601), who, by birth (being a native of the city), as well as by his literary pursuits, was so thoroughly identified with it. Although he used all three names indiscrimi-

nately, it may be as well to restrict notice of him to the first. In his edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1586, 7), he inserted the "Order and usage of keeping the Parliaments in England," apparently a reprint of a work issued in 1572. He also wrote "A Journal of the proceedings of the Irish Parliament," 1568; "A Journal of the Parliament of 1571," when he was M.P. for Exeter; and "the order of keepinge a Parliament in theise dayes"; the two latter (in MS.) being preserved in the Municipal Archives of Exeter.¹⁵⁵

WILLIAM HAKEWILL (1574-1655) brother of Dr. George Hakewill, an eminent legal antiquary and "a master of precedents," wrote many works on the History and Antiquities of Parliament, &c., all of which were published subsequently to 1640, though some were probably written prior to that year, including his *Modus tenendi Parliamentum, or, The Old Manner of holding Parliaments in England, &c.* (1641), a work that may still be consulted with benefit by enquirers into parliamentary usages and precedents.

In 1658 was published, *Opinions of sundry learned Antiquaries touching the Antiquity, Power, &c., of the High Court of Parliament in England.*¹⁵⁶ One of the sections is stated to have been written by Sir John Doddridge, and edited by his nephew JOHN DODDRIDGE (-1666?), son of Pentecost Doddridge, a merchant, and thrice Mayor of Barnstaple; who claims our attention also, for having established a Parochial Library in Barnstaple in 1665. He was M.P. and recorder of the borough.¹⁵⁷

Owing to his *Speeches and Discourses* in several Parliaments in the reign of Elizabeth, as recorded by Wood, we have here to mention RICHARD MARTIN (1570?-1618), born at Otterton, M.P., and, in the last year of his life, Recorder of London. Other *Speeches* (1602, 1643) are also assigned to him. According to Lysons he was "a great linguist and a poet," also that "his poems are in print," citing Wood (ii. 250) as his authority, who, however, terms him "a plausible linguist" with evident allusion to his powers as a Parliamentary speaker, and not as being well versed in several languages. Wood adds "various poems," but whether printed or not is unknown, and Dr. Bliss could learn nothing about them. He was, however, accounted one of the highest wits of his age, and associated with all the literary men of his time, including Ben Jonson, the latter having dedicated to him ("To the virtuous, and my worthy friend, Mr. Richard Martin") the edition of his *Poetaster*, published in 1616.¹⁵⁸ Of his literary abilities Fuller testifies, that "he had an

excellent pen, and wrote very much, and the more the pitty that they are suppressed from publick use." (i. 275.)

Amongst the best of the prison works of SIR W. RALEGH (1552-1618), is *The Prerogative of Parliaments in England. Proucd in a Dialogue (pro. and contr.) betweene a Councellour of State and a Justice of Peace* (1628), "the one dissuading, the other perswading the calling of Parliament." The Justice is supposed to represent Raleigh himself, who endeavoured to create an amicable understanding between the King and his people, by inducing the former to place greater reliance upon the goodwill of the latter. But James I. and Raleigh never appeared to understand each other, and Sir Walter apparently overrated his powers, of being able to convince the King of the favourable character of anything written by him, especially as at that time the feelings of James had been ruffled, by the unfavorable manner in which his levy of the "Benevolence" had been regarded by the Country generally.¹⁵⁹ Although it bears inherent evidence of having been written not earlier than 1615, it was not printed until 1628,¹⁶⁰ and from the manner of its issue, its publication may have been caused, partly by the proceedings taken against Sir John Eliot, between the dates of whose two imprisonments (1626 and 1629) it was published; and partly by the excitement engendered in 1628 by the celebrated Petition of Right.¹⁶¹ It was one of the most popular of Raleigh's numerous productions.

Raleigh was the Admirable Crichton of his time, and wrote upon most of the branches of knowledge,¹⁶² in some of which he is the sole representative of this county, such as Politics, Philosophy, Military Matters, &c. Many of these were the fruits of his ten years' imprisonment, in which he utilised the literary stores he had gathered during his active life. Leisure with him was apparently synonymous with an alteration in the direction of his work. He could never be an idle man.¹⁶³

Of his political works, *The Prince or Maxims of State* (1642), and *The Cabinet Council* (1658), are treatises on the principles of government, and contain many historical illustrations and wise apothegms. The following are examples of the latter: "Nothing can corrupt and alter the nature of man so much, or so soon as the immoderate desire of Honor." "Seldom or never is any people discontented without great cause." (*Cabinet Council*, 164, 5.)

The latter work is of especial interest for having been

published at the instigation of Milton, who wrote the Address "to the Reader." In the last issue of the work (1697) Milton's name alone appears on the title page.¹⁶⁴

His *Observations Concerning the Causes of the Magnificency, &c., of Cities* (1651), and the *Seat of Government* (1651), were apparently portions of longer articles, and may be passed over; but two others require some notice. At the direct request of Prince Henry, he wrote *A Discourse touching a Match propounded by the Savoyan between the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince of Picmont, and one Touching a Marriage between Prince Henry of England and a Daughter of Savoy*, each dated "9 Jacobi." (= 1611, 2). In March, 1611, the Savoyard ambassador had been directed to treat for both marriages, to which neither on his own nor on his sister's account the Prince was favourable, hence his appeal to Raleigh, whose opinion coincided with that of the Prince, and who in addition, advocated the advantages of a French alliance. The application was unsuccessful.¹⁶⁵ The tracts were printed for the first time in 1750.

In 1653 was published *Observations touching the Trade and Commerce with the Hollander*, of which four variants with different titles were issued—a fair evidence of its popularity. Although generally attributed to Raleigh, grave doubts have been raised as to the authorship.¹⁶⁶

Of military treatises, Raleigh wrote several relating to the defences of the country in the times of threatened invasion (1588 and 1596.) One of his best and most carefully written works, is *A Discourse of the Originall and Fundamental Cause of . . . Warre*, commencing "The ordinary theme and Argument of History is War."¹⁶⁷ In 1603 he presented to James I., very soon after his accession to the English throne, a *Discourse Of a War with Spain, and on Protecting the Netherlands* (of a second on the same subject, the title alone has been preserved.) As the King had determined on a reversal of Elizabeth's policy with regard to that country, Raleigh's treatise must have been particularly distasteful to him. With the peculiar views held by James, such a passage as the following would cause him much annoyance:—

"He that will be silent when he might declare and publish what may prove useful to your Majesty's Government, does as much decline Your Service, as he that flies Your Kingdoms." (47).¹⁶⁸

Passing by his short philosophical treatises—*The Sceptick* (1651) and his *Treatise of the Soul*, which remained in MS. until 1829—we come to his *Instructions to his Son, and to*

Posterity, first printed in 1632, reprinted again and again, and always deservedly popular. Although much of the paternal advice is highly to be commended, such as the choice of friends in the first chapter, there is a worldliness about some of the portions, that a father would scarcely recommend to his son in the present day. Some of his phrases are very pointed, here is one: "No man is esteemed for gay Garments, but by Fools and Women." (chap. vii.) It is nearly always accompanied with another treatise, entitled *The dutiful Advice of a loving Son to his aged Father*, usually assigned to Raleigh, but it is very doubtful if he wrote it. It reads more like a lampoon—a satire upon the *Instructions*. The doubt is strengthened by the circumstance that two entries in the Stationers' Registers record the latter, but make no allusion to the Son's advice to his Father. (Ed. Arber iv. 276-378.)

It is noteworthy that none of these works by Raleigh were printed during his lifetime: the majority of them were published during the time of the Commonwealth, and were then very popular.

Of Educational Literature there is not much to report. During the time WILL. KEMPE (-1604 (?) held the Mastership of Plymouth Grammar School he published, in the Armada year, *The Education of Children in Learning: declared by the Dignitie, Utilitie, and Method thereof, &c.* (1588), dedicated to William Hawkins, Sir John's elder brother, and Mayor of Plymouth in that year; and in 1592 *The Art of Arithmetick in whole Numbers and Fractions* (a translation from the Latin), dedicated to Sir F. Drake, with some verses to the latter on bringing the Leat to Plymouth.¹⁶⁹ NICHOLAS HUNT (1596-1648), believed to be a native of Exeter, wrote two Arithmetical works. (1631, 1633.) WILLIAM MARTIN or MARTYN (1562-1617), during his Recordership of Exeter, his native city, was the author of *Youth's Instruction* (1612), dedicated to his son, a student at Oxford. DR. J. PRIDEAUX (1578-1650), b. at Stowford, while Rector of Exeter College, Oxford (1612-1614), published several educational works in Latin. A *Greek Grammar* and a work on *Logic* are said to have been completed by him within a fortnight.

Amongst the many labors of SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT (1539?-1583), of Compton, it would scarcely have been surmised that he was the author of a scheme for the education of wards, whose neglect in this respect was one of the abuses

of wardship. About 1572,¹⁷⁰ he submitted, in MS., a scheme to the Queen, entitled "The erection of an Achademy in London for educacion of her Maiesties Wardes, and others the youth of nobility and gentlemen." His scheme was to establish a great University to be termed "Queene Elizabeths Achademy," for which he gives practical details, so that "there shalbe heareafter, in effecte, no gentleman within this Realme but good for some what, Wheareas now the most parte of them are good for nothinge." But the wardships continued, and nothing was done.¹⁷¹

As practical promoters of literature by furthering the education of the young, we must not pass, without honourable mention, two great names. The first, NICHOLAS WADHAM (1532-1609), of Edge, near Branscombe, intended to found the College at Oxford, known by his name, but dying before he could carry out his project, his widow, DOROTHY, proceeded to do so, and the building was commenced in the following year (1610).¹⁷² The second, PETER BLUNDELL (1520-1601) of Tiverton, founded the famous school of that place.¹⁷³

No family name is more intimately connected with literature than that of Bodley; and our attention is first directed to JOHN BODLEY (*fl. circ.* 1540), a Devonian, who was in exile in Mary's reign on account of his Protestantism. At her death he returned to England, and in 1562 received a patent for the exclusive printing of the Genevan Bible. He married a daughter of R. Hone, of Ottery St. Mary, by whom he had three sons, Thomas, Lawrence, and Josias, all born in Exeter. The eldest, SIR THOMAS BODLEY (1545-1613), wrote, in 1609, a short autobiography, printed in 1647. Under the title of *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, and edited by Tho. Hearne, it was reprinted in 1703, with transcripts of 243 of his letters "concerning Books and Learning, written to Dr. Thomas James, first keeper of the Publick Library."¹⁷⁴ Retiring from diplomatic service in 1596, he soon turned his thoughts towards the formation of the great library called after him. One had previously existed in Oxford, although little else than its memory remained after the disastrous visit of the Royal Commissioners in 1549.¹⁷⁵ Once begun, his labours were unceasing in fitting up the library and supplying it with books. He made large purchases abroad, as shown by his letters, *e.g.*

"Mr. Sackvil . . . hath been already at Venice, Ferrara, Padua, Verona, Brescia, Mantua, Pavia, Milan, Florence, Pisa, Rome, &c., and hath bought as many books as he knew I had

not, amounting to the Sum of, at the least, Four Hundred Pounds." Although his agent, John Bill, obtained some books "at Sevil . . . the People's Usage towards all of our Nation is so cruel and malicious, as he was utterly discouraged for this time." (Letters in *Reliq. Bodleianæ*, 89, 197.)¹⁷⁶

He obtained donations of money and books from literary friends throughout England, especially from those in Devonshire.¹⁷⁷ The most important contribution from this county, was that of the Dean (Dr. M. Sutcliffe) and Chapter of Exeter, who, in 1602, gave eighty-one Latin MSS. from their library to the new one at Oxford.¹⁷⁸ As Sir Thomas Bodley's second brother, Lawrence, was at that time a Canon of Exeter, it was probably due to his influence that these MSS. were so transferred.

"By what right," states Mr. Macray, "they thus alienated their corporate property no one probably cared to enquire; but, from the tokens of neglect still visible upon the books, we may conclude that only by this alienation were they in all likelihood saved from ultimate destruction: for they nearly all bear more or less sign of having been exposed to great damp, which in several instances has well-nigh destroyed the initial and final leaves." (*Op. cit.* (1890), 28.)

Five (perhaps more) of the MSS. had been originally given by Leofric to Exeter Cathedral, the most valuable being the "Missale Antiquissimum," of which a translation was published in 1883, by F. E. Warren, under the title of *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the Episcopate of its first Bishop, A.D. 1050-1072*, with a valuable Introduction, &c.¹⁷⁹ It contains miscellaneous entries of manumissions, gifts to the Cathedral of furniture, books, &c.; and Mr. Warren notes, "the list closes with a request that worshippers in Exeter Cathedral would pray for the soul of Leofric, and the imprecation of a malediction on any persons who should be concerned in the alienation or removal of his gifts." (Intro. xxiii.)¹⁸⁰ It is only charitable to believe that the Dean and Chapter were not aware of the consequences attending a violation of Leofric's request.

The library was opened with due formality in 1602, and in 1604 the King granted letters patent authorising it to be called by Bodley's name. Moreover, he visited it in 1605, and again in 1614. The first catalogue—a thick 4to of 655 pages—appeared in 1605. And so started this great contribution to the literary world, "the first practically public library in Europe," and since then it has ever been widening the sphere of its usefulness, a monument needing no

inscription, of the good this illustrious Devonian effected in his generation.

"Si monumentum quæris, circumspice."

Under the heading of Biography, the list of works is very small. FRANCIS GODWIN, D.D., when sub-dean of Exeter (1587-1601), compiled and published *A Catalogue of the Bishops of England . . . with a brief History of their lives and memorable actions* (1601), the first work of its kind. It is said that Queen Elizabeth was so pleased with it, that she rewarded him with the Bishopric of Llandaff.¹⁸¹ A much enlarged edition was issued in 1615, and lists of the Bishops of Bangor and of St. Asaph, omitted from the first, were included in it. Two "Discourses" were also added, one "concerning the first conversion of this Island of Britaine unto Christian Religion" (1-48); the other "concerning such Englishmen as have either bene, or in our histories reputed, Cardinalls of the Church of Rome" (687-698), and it is not a little remarkable that the fabulous "Pope Joane" heads the list.¹⁸² This one he translated into Latin (to please King James is reported), published in 1616. A folio edition (1743), edited by W. Richardson, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, is still the standard work on the subject.

JOHN HOOKER (1526?-1601), the Exeter antiquary, published in 1584, *A Catalog of the Bishops of Excester, with the Description of the Antiquitie and first Foundation of the Cathedrall Church of the same*; reprinted, with some amendments, in Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1586); and by Andrew Brice in 1765. The late Professor Freeman did Dr. Godwin an injustice, in making the following statement in his *History of Exeter* (155):

"Hooker's MS. volume, the 'Great Ledger and Black Book' is the source from which so many have drawn—Bishop Godwin, in his Catalogue of Bishops, not the least—without a word of thanks to their guide."

Had the Professor examined Godwin's work, he would have found the account of the Bishops of Exeter preceded by this note: "This discourse following is taken (for the most part) verbatim out of Master John Hooker's Catalogue of the Bishops of Exeter." (Ed. 1601, 315.) Moreover Hooker himself was aware of Godwin's work while in progress.¹⁸³

John Hooker was also the author of the interesting "lyfe, manners, qualities, and condicions of" a "noble and worthye Knyghte," with this heading: "The Lyffe of Sir Peter

Carewe, late of Mohonese Otrey, in the countie of Devon, Knyghte, who dyed at Rosse, in Irelande, the 27th of November, 1575, and was buryed at the cettie of Water Forde, the 15th of December, 1575; collected by John Vowell, alias Hoker, of the cetie of Excester, Gent., partly upon the credyble reporte of others and partly much he sawe and knewe hymselffe." First printed in *Archæologia* xxviii. 96-151, from a MS. in the Lambeth Library; and afterwards, with Introduction and Notes, by John Maclean, 1857.

SIR FAITHFUL FORTESCUE (1512-circ. 1608) of Buckland Filleigh, "wrote the memoirs of his family, which he left behind him; and his grandson continued them to the year 1718." It is greatly to be regretted that "no trace of these records . . . can now be found." Another of the same name (circ. 1581-1666), also of Buckland Filleigh, drew up a short memoir "of the Right Honourable, first Lord Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland."¹⁸⁴

The life of the founder of All Souls College, Oxford, Archbishop Chichele, was written by SIR ARTHUR DUCK (1580-1648) "in most elegant Latine," printed in 1617 and 1681, and a translation in 1699.

None of the ordinary biographies of Sir Walter Raleigh were issued from the press before 1640, but there are two works incident to his execution and the events immediately preceding it, not to be passed over, which are alluded to here, although, strictly speaking, they are more political than biographical. They were published within a day or two of each other, by B. Norton, the King's printer, and less than a month after Raleigh's execution on October 29th, 1618.

The first is entitled *The humble petition and information of Sir Lewis Stueley, Knight, Vice-admirall of Deuon, touching his owne behauiour in the charge committed vnto him, for the bringing vp of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the scandalous aspersions cast vpon him for the same* (1618),¹⁸⁵ and is the explanation of Sir Lewis or "Iudas" Stueley (1570-1620), one of the results of the great outcry raised by Raleigh's execution, which was soon found to be a most unpopular act. Another result was the publication of the second work, with the following title, *A Declaration of the Demeanor and Cariage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, as well in his Voyage, as in, and sithence his Returne; and of the true motives and inducements which occasioned His Maiestic to Proceed in doing Justice vpon him, as hath bene done.* (1618.)¹⁸⁶ A very remarkable and important State paper, being the King's justification for causing Raleigh to be executed; and for the

extremely unusual proceeding of sending forth an explanation of this, there must have been very strong reasons.

The following remarkable passage occurs in the *Geography delineated* of the learned NATHANAEL CARPENTER (1589-1628?):

"I have hitherto touched such eminent wits and persons, of whom for their profession sake the *Church* or *Commonwealth* have greater reason to take especiall notice. Many inferiour faculties are yet left, wherein our *Devon* hath displaid her abilities, as well as in the former, as in *Philosophers*, *Historians*, *Oratours*, and *Poets*, the blazoning of whom to the life, especially the last, I had rather leaue to my worthy friend *Mr. W. Browne*; who, as he hath already honoured his countrie in his elegant and sweet *Pastoralls*, so questionles will easily bee intreated a little farther to grace it, by drawing out the line of his *Poeticke* Auncesters, beginning in *Josephus Iscanus*, and ending in himselfe." (Ed. 1625, bk. 2, ch. 15, pp. 263-4.)

From this, W. C. Hazlitt infers that Browne "at one time contemplated doing what was afterwards achieved by Fuller, and, still later, by Prince—a biographical account of the worthies of Devon";¹⁸⁷ but the text does not bear this interpretation.

The title of N. Carpenter's work, from which the foregoing extract has been taken, runs thus: *Geography delineated forth in two Bookes, containing the sphericall and topieal parts thereof* (1625, 1635), a remarkable production considering the period of its publication, and one of the earliest scientific treatises on the subject. It includes mathematical geography, navigation, influence of climate on character, &c.; and under the following heading urges much in praise of his native county of Devon: "Mountaine people are for the most part more stout, warlike and generous than those of plain countries: yet lesse tractable to government." (Ed. of 1635, bk. 2, p. 256.)¹⁸⁸

A Treatise on Optics was written by the same author, but the original MS. was lost at sea, and although Wood affirms "yet, some copies of it are saved, but imperfect" (ii. 422), nothing is known of them at the present date.

Among his multifarious works, we should hardly have expected one on an astronomical subject from JOHN HOOKER; he however published, in 1577, *The Events of Comets or blazing Stars*.

The only other scientific treatises to notice, those on Navigation, will be considered in the Section on Voyages, &c.

Had he lived in modern times, SIR NICHOLAS HALSE (-1636), a native of Efford, near Plymouth, would in all probability have been a promoter of public companies, created to carry out his numerous inventions. He does not appear to have published anything, but many of his MSS., containing scientific and political projects, have been preserved. He invented a process for "sweet-drying malt without touch of smoke."

The English Naval Literature of this period is, even more than that of the drama, the great distinguishing characteristic of the reign of Elizabeth, as, among other things, it records the initiation and progress, at first by private individuals, of the various efforts made to discover new lands, to find out new modes of approach to the New World as well as to the far-famed Cathay, to institute colonies, &c., in order to share with other European nations the trade and commerce with distant regions, and which, until the middle of the century, had been almost wholly restricted to Europe. Before entering upon its description it is necessary to make a few preliminary explanatory observations.

Up to the time of the accession of Elizabeth in 1558,

"The true process of English policie,
That wee bee masters of the narrowe see"

—lines written in the early part of the 15th century—indicated the limits of the aspirations of the English trader, voyages beyond Europe being only occasionally made.¹⁸⁹ Before the close of the century, America had been discovered by Columbus, Mexico and Peru had been captured by Cortes and Pizarro, and Vasco de Gama had discovered the road to India. Prior to these occurrences a Bull of Pope Alexander VI., under date 1493, "gaue and graunted to the Kynges of Castyle and theyr successours the Regions and Ilandes founde in the West Ocean sea by the Nauigations of the Spanyardes." In a similar manner Adrian IV. bestowed Ireland on Henry II. in the 12th century.¹⁹⁰ The English were therefore debarred from making explorations towards, or trading with, the Western Continent, without being treated as the enemies of the Spanish and Portuguese. The cruel treatment by the latter of English seamen who fell into their hands, the religious persecutions, their cruelty to the Netherlanders, the high-handed proceedings against the English in 1585, when all in Spanish ports were arrested and their shipping confiscated, the knowledge that their religious and

other wars, including their purposed invasion of England, were supported by the wealth derived from the New World: these, with other reasons, led to an intense hatred of the Spaniards, lasting through this and the next reigns, notwithstanding all the efforts of James I. to alter its direction. Nevertheless, despite all the dangers and difficulties attending the prosecution of enterprises for the purpose of trade or of discovery,¹⁹¹ they appear to have acted as a stimulus to a few determined individuals, and it was in a large measure owing to the efforts of the naval worthies of Devon, that we owe the origin of our foreign commerce and of our colonies.

“Time neuer can produce men to ore-take
The fames of *Greenuill, Davies, Gilbert, Drake,*
Or worthy *Hawkins*, or of thousands more
That hy their powre made the *Deuonian* shore
Mocke the proud *Tagus*; for whose richest spoyle
The boasting *Spaniard* left the *Indian* soyle
Bankrupt of store.”

(W. Browne, *Brit. Pastorals*, bk. ii. song 3.)

They laid the foundation of the naval supremacy of this country. In her time, Elizabeth witnessed the elevation of England, and the decay of the great naval and military power of Spain. The latter power appeared to be at its height in the year of the Great Armada (1588). Ten years later Philip II. died “hopelessly bankrupt,” having in the previous year (1597) “repudiated his debts, and ruined many of the chief commercial houses in Europe. (Creighton’s *Age of Elizabeth*, 223.)

The literature of the deeds of our naval worthies is, comparatively speaking, scanty.

To the labours of Richard Hakluyt (1552?–1616), and his successor Samuel Purchas (1577–1628?), we are mainly indebted for the preservation of a large number of the accounts of voyages and expeditions, few of them having been issued by, or at the instigation of, the voyagers as separate works (Raleigh being a marked exception). Many of them were apparently taken down by Hakluyt, from verbal descriptions of those who had taken part in them, which otherwise would have been lost. In these he acknowledges the assistance he obtained from the Devonians Wm. Borough, Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Walter Raleigh. His first treatise was issued in 1582, followed by another in 1589, but the one embodying the great results of his labours did not appear until 1599, and under the title of *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English*

Nation, termed by Froude "the Prose Epic of the modern English nation." A portion of his Collections are included in the *Hakluyt Posthumus*, the *Pilgrimes* of S. Purchas.¹⁹²

We commence with the *Hawkins' Family* "of merchants statesmen and heroes, to whom our country affords no parallel."¹⁹³ And first, of *William Hawkyns* or *Hawkins* (-1554?), a member of a Tavistock family, settled at Plymouth, who, like several of his descendants, was Mayor of that town, and represented it in Parliament. As a trader he made several voyages to Brazil and Guinea, in the reign of Henry VIII., recorded by Hakluyt in "A briefe relation of two sundry voyages made by the worshipful M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth . . . in the yeere 1530 and 1532." (xiv., 250, 1),¹⁹⁴ the earliest by a Devonian reported in his work.

His son, SIR JOHN HAWKINS (1532-1595), born at Plymouth, was "one of the great men who broke the power of Spain, and established England's maritime supremacy." (Professor Laughton.) He was an active man in naval matters, ashore or afloat, Treasurer of the Navy, and one of the foremost captains in the attack on the Spanish Armada, for which he was knighted."¹⁹⁵ Of his many voyages, we have full accounts of four, all recorded by Hakluyt, and all to the West Indies and the opposite coast of Africa. That of the first, in 1562, is very short and without author's name, but is a memorable one for being the earliest record we possess of an Englishman's connection with the Slave trade, negroes being captured in Guinea and sold in the West Indies. (xv. 123-125.¹⁹⁶) Of his second voyage, made in 1564 with four ships, a long interesting description was furnished to Hakluyt by "John Sparke the younger, who went vpon the same voyage, and wrote the same." (xv. 125-170.) This SPARKE was a Plymouth man, afterwards mayor.

The account of the third voyage with six ships, in 1567 and 1568, written by Hawkins himself, is chronicled by Hakluyt (xv. 170-180), and in a separate work, entitled *A true declaration of the troublesome voyadge of M. J. Hawkins to the parties of Guynea and the west-Indies in the yeares of our Lord 1567 and 1568. (1569.)*¹⁹⁷ It was the first occasion of the Bay of Mexico being visited by English vessels. After trading in negroes, plundering Portuguese vessels, &c., he was attacked by the Spanish fleet in the harbour of San Juan de Ulloa (Vera Cruz), and escaped with difficulty back to England with two of his ships, of one of which Drake was captain. Hawkins thus concludes his account:

"If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorrowfull voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should neede a painefull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lines and deathes of the Martyrs."

Prof. Arber remarks, "The baptism of blood at San Juan de Ulloa was afterwards expiated in the plunder of many an unfortunate Spanish ship." (*Eng. Garner*, v. 204.) Of his last voyage in 1595, during which he died, we defer an account until we describe Drake's achievements.

Sir John's only son, SIR RICHARD HAWKINS (1562?-1622), probably born at Plymouth, made a memorable but disastrous voyage on a plundering expedition against the Spaniards. After passing through the Straits of Magellan, he ascended the coast as far as Valparaiso, taking it and some ships. Shortly after he was attacked by a superior force of Spanish vessels, and after fighting desperately for three days (similar in several respects to the incident of the *Revenge* in 1591), was taken prisoner, and was not released until 1602. Returning to England, he wrote *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins Knight in his Voyage into the South Sea. Anno Domini*, 1593, but it was not published until after his death in 1622.¹⁹⁸ It is imperfect in including a portion only of his travels; it omits all mention of Peru, and of his prison life. Of the places visited by him, many interesting particulars are given.

Sir Richard's voyage and subsequent imprisonment led to an extraordinary poetical composition by WILLIAM KIDLEY (*fl.* 1624), of Dartmouth, preserved in the British Museum (*Sloane MS.* 2024), and entitled "Kidley's Hawkins, or a poetical Relation of the Voyage of Sr Richard Hawkins Knight vnto Mare del Zur . . . 1593 . . . By William Kidley, in his Minority, an Vndergraduate in Exeter Colledge in Oxford, at vacant howers in Ann. 1624, and in the 19th yeare of his age." The MS. contains all that is known of the writer, and was first brought into notice by Dr. Bliss, who has given long extracts from it. (*Wood*, ii., 368-373.)¹⁹⁹

The next navigators to notice are three members of the well-known family of BOROUGH or BURROUGH, of Northam.

STEVEN BOROUGH (1525-1584), born at Northam, was one of the survivors of Sir H. Willoughby's ill-fated expedition, in search of a N.E. passage to Cathay, in 1553, and one result of his voyage is alluded to in his epitaph in the Church of St. Mary, Chatham.

"He in his life time discovered Muscovia by y^e Northerne sea passage to St. Nicholas in the yere 1553."

The only other naval expedition of his of which we possess an extended notice, is pronounced by Mr. R. W. Cotton to be "of peculiar interest from its being almost the earliest printed original account of an English voyage which exists in the language." Its title is thus given by Hakluyt, "The Nauigation and discouerie toward the riner of Ob, made by Master Steuen Burrough, Master of the Pinnesse called the Serchthrift, with diuers things worth the noting, passed in the yere 1556." (iii. 116-137.) Before returning to England, he in the following year went in search of Sir H. Willoughby's missing vessels. (Hakluyt, iii. 152-162.) He failed to reach the Ob, but he found the entrance to the Kara sea by the straits of that name. It was at his instigation that Richard Eden translated from the Spanish *The Arte of Navigation*, &c. (1561); a very important work, issued at a time when there was no English treatise upon it, and Borough saw the need of imparting a more scientific training to seamen. As it passed through several editions it was evidently popular.²⁰⁰

Although the son of Steven, very little is known of CHRISTOPHER BOROUGH (*fl.* 1579-1581), beyond the one voyage he made, fully recorded by Hakluyt (iv. 101-129): "Aduertisements and reports of the 6 voyage into the parts of Persia and Media, for the companie of English merchants for the discouerie of new trades, in the yeeeres 1579, 1580 and 1581, gathered out of sundrie letters written by Christopher Burrough, seruant to the saide compaine, and sent to his vncle Master William Burrough." It was an expedition that even in modern days would be deemed adventurous. After a voyage to St. Nicholas on the White Sea, the merchandise was transhipped into barks, and conveyed up the Dwina to Vologda; it was there transferred to 25 waggons, and conveyed across country. On the ninth day Yeraslaue (Yaroslav), a port on the Volga was reached, where the goods were once more laden into barks. These sailed down the river, passing by Nishni Novgorod to Astracan, where the voyagers arrived on October 16th, having started from St. Nicholas on July 25th. They had thus travelled through the centre of modern Russia from north to south. They traded on both sides of the Caspian Sea, and after passing two winters in Astracan, reached England on September 25th, 1581. The incidents of the journey as related by him are very interesting, and the tables of latitudes show that he had been well trained by his father.

The third member of the family, WILLIAM BOROUGH (1536-1599), also of Northam, Comptroller of the Navy, was

a younger brother of Steven Borough. In "a dedicatory Epistle" to the Queen, accompanying "his exact and notable mappe of Russia," he briefly related "his great trauailes, obseruations, and experiments both by sea and land, especially in those north-eastern parts." (Hakluyt, iv. 97-99.) It is certain that he was a man of great scientific attainments, and possessed of acute powers of observation. The map of Russia (unfortunately lost) set down the latitude and longitude of many places from his own observations and calculations, and many of his charts still preserved are in evidence of this. So also are his "Instructions . . . to be observed in the purposed voyage for discovery of Cathay Eastwards," issued in 1580. (*Ibid.* 137-140.) But his most important scientific work, was *A Discours of the Variation of the Cumpas, or Magnetical Neede*, and which formed the second part of a volume published in 1581, the first being *The Newe Attractive, &c.*, by R. Norman, a celebrated hydrographer. It was evidently highly thought of by seafaring men, as several editions of it were issued, Borough demonstrating that existing charts were comparatively useless, on account of the variations of the compass remaining unnoted.²⁰¹

Of the three sons of Otho Gilbert of Compton, the most eminent was SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT (1539?-1583), who, like his step-brother Raleigh, was possessed with the spirit of discovery and of colonising distant lands. His first known literary essay, was a petition to the Queen (*circa* 1564) for permission to fit out an expedition, for the purpose of attempting to discover a north-east passage to Cathay. This was followed by a second in 1566, with the important alteration of the route being altered to the north-west. Under the title of *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia*, the latter was published in 1576, probably without Gilbert's authority, by his friend Geo. Gascoigne, the satirist.²⁰² In it he enlarges upon the benefits the English would derive from increased trade, as well as upon the advantages of colonisation, and alludes to another large discourse he had written on the subject, which has not been preserved. These reports of Gilbert were the primary cause of Frobisher's N.W. voyages, 1572-1579. In the following year (1577) his literary activity developed itself, in "A discourse how Hir Majestie may annoy the King of Spayne": this yet remains in MS.²⁰³

Bent upon a grand scheme of colonisation, he started with an expedition in 1578, of which an account is given in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1589. (iii. 1369.) The Letters Patent

granted him "for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America," are printed by Hakluyt (xii. 306-311), together with some Latin verses in eulogy of Gilbert by S. P. Budæus (*Ibid.* 311-320), who was drowned in 1583. The voyage proved to be a disastrous one, from being attacked by the Spaniards, and the ships returned to England in May, 1579.

An account of Sir Humphrey's last expedition in 1583, intended for colonising purposes, was written by Edw. Hayes, owner and captain of one of the vessels, and appears at length in Hakluyt's work (xii. 320-358) under the title of "A report of the voyage . . . intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place conuenient, vpon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of F[l]orida," &c. He sailed direct for Newfoundland, of which he took possession in the Queen's name. On his return voyage his little fleet encountered stormy weather, and his ship, a small one of ten tons, suddenly sunk with all on board on Sept. 9. Shortly before he was heard to utter the well-known sentence, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land."²⁰⁴ In the same year (1583) Sir George Peckham, "the chiefe aduenturer and furtherer of Gilbert's voyage," published *A true Reporte of the late discoveries and possession . . . of the New-found Landes, &c.*²⁰⁵

Sir H. Gilbert found a worthy successor in Captain RICHARD WHITBOURNE (*fl.* 1558-1620 ?), of Exmouth, through whose active labours Newfoundland was permanently colonised in the reign of James I. After having made several voyages to that country, he wrote *A Discourse and Discovery of New-found-land. Together with the laying open of certaine enormities and abuses committed by some that trade to that countrey, etc.*, issued in 1620. With additions, it was reprinted in 1622 and 1623. By a Royal order, the work was directed to be supplied to all parishes, the expenses of publication being defrayed by collections made on briefs. This was done "for the incouragement of Adventurers vnto the plantation there," and was the occasion of his publishing, in 1622, *A discourse containing a loving invitation . . . to all such as shall be Adventurers . . . for the advancement of his Majesties Plantation in the New-found-land.* An abstract of the first named was published in 1870 by T. Whitburn, under the title of *Westward Hoc for Avalon* (stated to be the name given to Newfoundland in the time of James), containing in an appendix copies of the original autobiography, dedication, &c. In his *Survey*, Risdon terms him "Sir Richard Whitebourne, Knight." (ii. 163.)

We pass on to notice JOHN DAVIS or DAVYS (1550-1605), a native of Sandridge, on the Dart, who followed in the wake of Frobisher in three voyages made for the discovery of the N.W. passage, 1585-1587, during which he went much farther north up Baffin's Bay than any of his predecessors, and was the discoverer of Davis's Straits. An account of his first and third voyages was written by John Janes, and of the second by Davis himself.²⁰⁶ His most recent biographer remarks, "The dream of Davis's life was the discovery of the North-West Passage, for the increase of the wealth and prosperity of his country." (Markham, 169.) He was the last of the old mariners who attempted to discover a N.W. route to Cathay, and long continued to believe in its feasibility, for in 1595 he published *The Worldes Hydrographical Discription*, and in the title of it affirmed "there is a short and speedie passage into the South Seas, to China . . . and India, by Northerly Navigation," and included in the work an abstract of his three voyages.

A much more important and popular work of his, on practical navigation, entitled *The Seaman's Secrets*, appeared in 1594, and passed through several editions.

We pause at the name of the great naval hero, SIR FRANCIS DRAKE (1540?-1596), born at Crowndale, near Tavistock. Here is W. Browne's allusion to it—

"And, Tavy, in my rimes
Challenge a due; lett it thy glorye be,
That famous Drake and I were borne by thee."
(*Brit. Pastorals*, bk. iii. song 1.)

Fortunately we have only to do with the literary record of his achievements, none of which appear to have been chronicled by himself. According to Camden, the starting-point of his determined vigour against the Spaniards, was to repair the losses he had incurred during the "Troublesome voyage" of Sir J. Hawkins in 1567-8, for which he "block'd up the Bay of Mexico for two years together with continual defeats." (*Britannia* (1695), 27.)

After two preliminary voyages in 1570 and 1571, he started on his third from Plymouth on May 24, 1572, and returned "on Sunday, about sermon time, August the 9th, 1573, rich in fame as well as in money." He had taken and sacked Nombre de Dios and other Spanish towns, burnt many ships, and captured much treasure. It was during this voyage, that he is said to have seen the South Sea for the first time, from a high tree on the Isthmus of Darien. A

full report of it was for the first time printed in 1626, under the title of *Sir Francis Drake revived; Calling upon this dull or effeminate Age, to follow his noble steps for gold and silver*, and edited "by Philip Nichols, Preacher."²⁰⁷ His memorable voyage round the world, started from Plymouth on December 13, 1577, and returned on September 26, 1580; but no published account of it appeared till 1628, and then under the title of *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*,²⁰⁸ "carefully collected out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher Preacher in this imployment, and diuers others his followers in the same." Both this and the preceding work passed through several editions. One of the most popular acts of Elizabeth was to visit Drake on April 4, 1581, on his famous ship at Deptford (the one that had brought home an enormous amount of plunder taken from the Spaniards), and there to knight him.

When the King of Spain in 1585 laid an embargo on English ships and merchandise, a large English fleet commanded by Drake, sailed on September 14th of that year to attack the Spanish settlements in the West Indies and Spanish Main, and returned on July 28th, 1586, after having plundered and destroyed towns and shipping to an enormous extent. An account of the expedition appeared in *A Summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West Indian Voyage. Wherein were taken the Townes of Saint Iago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine*. (1589.)²⁰⁹ One effect of this on the Spanish King was to hasten his preparations for the invasion of England. Of this the English government had information, and an expedition under the command of Drake sailed, on April 2nd, 1587, direct for Cadiz, and Drake's desire "to singe King Philip's beard" was fully carried out. At Cadiz and other places he destroyed an enormous amount of shipping and stores, besides retaining a large amount of plunder. It resulted in the Spaniards having to delay for another year their projected attack on England. On the return voyage he captured the *San Philip*, a Portuguese East Indiaman, containing booty valued at £100,000, "the first of that kind that euer was seene in England." Under the title of *Newes out of the Coast of Spaine* (1587), Henry Haslop published "a true report" of Drake's labours. Another account is recorded by Hakluyt. (vii. 8-12.)²¹⁰

The last voyage in which he was engaged he commanded, jointly with Sir J. Hawkins, an expedition to the West Indies, the most mournful one in the Elizabethan annals. It left Plymouth in August 1595, and after various disasters

came the greatest of all, by the deaths through illness, first of Hawkins, then of Drake. Within sight of Nombredios Drake's body was consigned to the deep.

"The waves became his winding sheet ; the waters were his tomb ;
But, for his fame, the ocean sea was not sufficient room."

Hakluyt (xv. 298-313) contains a daily diary of occurrences during the expedition, entitled, "The voyage truly discoursed . . . chiefly pretended for some speciall service on the Islands and maine of the West Indies . . . in the yeere 1595. In which voyage both the foresayd Knights died by sicknesse." Another account by Thomas Maynarde, who accompanied the expedition, is printed by the Hakluyt Society (1849), under the title of *Sir Francis Drake his voyage*, 1595.

Of the influence of his name on the Spaniards we may accept, as being literally correct, the statement in "Dick of Devonshire":—

"The very name of *Drake*
Was a Bugbear to fright Children ; Nurses still'd
Their little *Spanish* Nynnyes when they cryde
'Hush ! the *Drake* comes.'" (Act i. sc. 2.)²¹¹

In refutation of the character of Drake, Henry Savile, Captain of the *Adventure* in Drake's last voyage, wrote *A Libel of Spanish Lies* (1596). The death of Drake called forth many poetical pieces: the most important was that of the Rev. Chas. Fitz-Geffry, Rector of St. Dominick, Cornwall, then in his 22nd year, and bore the title, *Sir Francis Drake his honourable lifes commendation, and his Tragical Deathes lamentation* (1596). It is, however, painfully long, consisting of 285 seven-line verses, of very unequal merit, some, as in the following specimen, being something more than eccentric:

"Fame's stately Pharus, map of dignity,
Jove's pearl, pearl's pride, pride's foe, foe's enemy,
Spain-shaking fever-regent of war's thunder, "
Undaunted Drake, a name importing wonder." (Verse 11.)²¹²

The life of Drake presents another literary aspect not to be overlooked, viz., the large amount of folk-lore associated with his name, and to his only to any extent, of the many Devonshire celebrities. The whole of the circumstances pertaining to his circumnavigation of the globe, the public honours he received from the Queen, his marvellous exploits by sea and land directed against the Spaniards, the circumstances of his death, &c., not only made him the popular hero amongst his countrymen, but there was a wide-spread belief of his success being due to supernatural causes, a belief that

extended itself to other acts of his, such as the construction of the Plymouth Leat, his method of creating ships on an emergency, his mode of communication with his wife (or his betrothed?) from the Antipodes when she was about to marry another man, the building operations at Buckland Abbey, &c. His name is even associated with that of Shakespeare, in one of the variants of the "Merchant of Venice."²¹³

One who had voyaged with Drake, and who attempted a privateering expedition on his own account, was JOHN OXENHAM or OXNAM (*fl.* 1575) of Plymouth, the first Englishman who entered the South Sea. On landing at the Isthmus of Darien, he "couered his ship after he had brought her aground with boughs of trees," crossed the Isthmus to a river, "and there he cut wood and made a Pinnesse, which was fīue and fortie foote by the Keele," and "so went into the South Sea."²¹⁴ Having captured several valuable prizes, he was taken by the Spaniards and executed as a pirate. An account of his voyage, written by Lopez Vaz, a Portuguese, who recorded Drake's voyage to Nombre de Dios in 1572, is printed by Hakluyt (xv. 192-195), as "a voyage of John Oxnam of Plimmouth, to the West India, and ouer the straight of Dariene into the South Sea. Anno 1575."

Purchas records "the taking of Saint Vincent and Puerto Bello" by Captain WILLIAM PARKER, "of Plimmouth," on Feb. 7th, 1601. (*Pilgrimes*, iv. 1243-1245. *Vide* also Worth's *Hist. of Plymouth* (1890), 62.)

SIR THOMAS GATES (*fl.* 1596-1621) was, according to Prince, "born at Colleford in the parish of Colleton" in this county. As Governor of Virginia he left England in 1609, was wrecked on the Bermudas, and remained on the island nine months before he was enabled to leave for his intended destination. S. Jourdan, one of the voyagers, on his return to England in 1610, published in the same year *A Discovery of the Barmudas, otherwise called the Ile of Devils: by Sir Thomas Gates, . . . with diuers others, &c.*²¹⁵ It is asserted that to this work Shakespeare was indebted for his idea of *The Tempest*,²¹⁶ written about two years afterwards (1612). In it, Ariel alludes to "the still vex'd Bermoothes." (Act i. sc. 2.)

For naval matters generally, we are more indebted to that universal genius, SIR W. RALEGH (1552-1618), than to any other Devonshire writer. Some of his shorter works on this subject were penned during his long confinement in the Tower, for the information of Prince Henry. These comprised

a *Treatise on the Art of War by Sea*, of which a fragment only has been preserved; *Discourse of a Maritimal Voyage*, lost; *Observations and Notes concerning the Royal Navy and Sea-Science* (1650); *A discourse of the invention of Ships, &c.* (1650) never completed. Whether he wrote *A discourse of Sea-Ports* has been doubted, but he was certainly the author of *A relation of Cadiz Action in the year 1596* (1698). The one of this class that caused a good deal of excitement when published in 1591, was *A Report of the truth of the fight about the Isles of Açores, this last Sommer. Betwixt the Revenge, one of her Maiesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spaine*. It relates how his friend, Sir Richard Grenville, under the most honourable circumstances, in his ship, the *Revenge*, withstood for fifteen hours the attack of the Spanish fleet, and it was only after two of their great galleons had been sunk, and others disabled, and when the *Revenge* had become a battered wreck, with nearly all its men killed or wounded, and the ammunition spent, that it was surrendered. Even this was directly against the wish of Grenville, who, severely wounded, was taken on board the ship of the Spanish admiral, where he soon afterwards died. The work, although issued without author's name, was soon recognised as the production of Raleigh (to whom it was assigned by Hakluyt in his *Principal Navigations, &c.*, of 1599), and is memorable for being the first of his that was printed. His plain, unaffected, but powerful description of "the most astonishing naval conflict ever delineated by any pen," went direct to the hearts of his countrymen, and his protest against "the slauerie and tyrannie of Spaine," served to intensify the popular hatred against that country. It was a vindication of the memory of his dead friend, and its publication was probably hastened "that it might be received as evidence before Sir R. Beville's commission, which was to meet a month later to inquire into the circumstances of Grenville's death." (E. Gosse, *Raleigh*, 51.) Raleigh's narrative has come into more prominent notice of late, from being the groundwork of Tennyson's "The Revenge. A ballad of the fleet," one of the most stirring of the many productions of the late poet laureate.²¹⁷

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's schemes of colonization descended to his half-brother, Raleigh, who, in 1584, obtained a charter, empowering him to discover and to colonise lands. The result of his endeavours was the discovery and occupation of Virginia, all duly chronicled in the pages of Hakluyt (xiii. 276-388), and, with one exception (Hariot's treatise), confined

to them until the present century. At the request of Raleigh, Hakluyt wrote "A Discourse on Western planting,"²¹⁸ in which he recounts the benefits to be derived from colonising, and trading with the western world. He alludes to the cruelties of the Spaniards, through whose agency he affirms "Englishe trades are growen beggerly or daungerous." In that year (1584) he sent out his first expedition, and an account written by one of the captains, appears in Hakluyt (xiii., 282-293), as, "the first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, wherein were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the countrey now called Virginia Anno 1584." How Raleigh named the newly-discovered country "Virginia," in honour of his Queen, by whom he was knighted, is a matter of well-known history. In the following year Sir Richard Grenville sailed there with a number of intended colonists and others, among them Thomas Hariot, a highly scientific man, who remained in the colony for twelve months, surveying, &c., and on his return in 1588, published *A briefe and true reporte of the new found land of Virginia*, &c. This, and an account of other voyages (five in all) are included in Hakluyt's work. Although these early attempts to found a colony there were unsuccessful, "none the less," remarks Edwards, "Raleigh is the virtual founder of Virginia, and of what has grown thereout." (*Op. cit.* i. 93.)²¹⁹ It may be mentioned that Raleigh never visited that country.

Gniana, the *ignis fatuus* of Raleigh, the scene of his greatest triumph, and the occasion of his death, was the country to which he directed his last expedition, having been, remarks the historian Stow, "incoraged by the reports of certaine Spanish gentlemen his prisoners, as also by certaine relations printed in the Spanish tongue," &c. (*Annales*, 1019.) In 1594 he sent Capt. Whiddon to the South American coast to make some preliminary enquiries, and on his return he made his celebrated voyage in 1595, as recorded in his volume of the following year (1596) entitled *The Discoverie . . . of Gniana*.²²⁰ He arrived at Trinidad near the end of March, from whence he proceeded by boats up the River of the Red Cross, one of the great mouths of the Orinoco, that discharges itself considerably west of Trinidad. He reached the Orinoco itself in about a fortnight, and proceeded up the stream for another fortnight, as far as the great tributary river from the south. (R. Caroli.) On his return journey he traversed another outlet of the Orinoco, to the east of the former. He returned to England in the same

year. It may be noted that the country visited and described by him, is entirely within the boundaries of the modern Venezuela. The present British Guiana lies to the east of it, and was not visited by Raleigh. His work became for a time very popular, two editions of it being required in the first year. Its value was however much more appreciated on the Continent, where it was translated into all the European languages, and was repeatedly printed, especially by the Dutch and Germans. Probably, from his anxiety for its early publication, to meet some of the unjust assertions made against him, the work was not properly completed, and in his concluding lines he affirms "to speake more at this time, I feare would be but troublesome." Although he strongly urged the Queen to "possesse it," nothing came of his recommendation. His statements were deemed too romantic and fabulous to deserve serious attention, and were accordingly discredited. His detractors asserted he had not visited Guiana at all, but had passed the time in Cornwall; and that the specimens of ore he brought back were marcasite (iron pyrites), or, if gold, obtained from some other source.²²¹ Again, in our own times, the historian Hume has characterised Raleigh's book, as "full of the grossest and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind."²²² It has been left to a modern editor of the *Discovery*, Sir R. H. Schomburgk, who had explored the delta of the Orinoco, and had been resident in Guiana for eight years, to testify to "the general correctness of Raleigh's descriptions"; and he speaks in like praise of his geographical knowledge of the Guiana country, affirming it to be "really wonderful." In a perusal of Raleigh's volume, due regard must be paid to the statement of facts observed by himself, as distinguished from the information he received from others—hearsay evidence. (It may be noted that the trustworthiness of the work of the great father of history, Herodotus, rests mainly on this distinction.) Of his own observed facts he mentions "one salt riuer that had store of oysters vpon the branches of the trees." (2.) This was doubted at first, but is now an ascertained fact; at high-water "they attach themselves chiefly to the mangrove tree . . . the water flowing off during the ebb leaves the branches with the oysters attached to them high and dry." (Schomburgk, *Op. cit.* 3.) Two examples of statements made to him as facts will suffice. Of the "Amazones," a tribe of "warlike women," he remarks, "I will set downe what hath been deliuered me for truth of those women,

bicause of some it is beleueed, of others not." (23.) He mentions "a nation of people whose heades appeare not aboue their shoulders, which, though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne part I am resolued it is true, because every child in the prouinces of Arromaia and Cauuri affirme the same." (69, 70.) Of this Schomburgk remarks (*Op. cit.* 85), that Raleigh "merely related the common belief of the natives, not only at the period of his visit, but up to this day."²²³ His work was highly praised by literary men, and deservedly so, for it is a charming narrative. Camden observes, "He most accurately described the countries, as if hee had been borne and bred there." (*Annales*, 445.) "It was the first excellent piece of sustained traveller's prose," and "remained long without a second in our literature." (E. Gosse, *Op. cit.* 85.)²²⁴

Other expeditions to Guiana were sent by Raleigh; one, in 1595, under Lawrence Keymis; another in 1596; accounts of both are in Hakluyt (xv. 49-93, 98-110); the former was also published as a separate work. Mr. Thomas Masham, "a gentleman of the companie," wrote the account of the one made in 1596.

Released from his long imprisonment on Jan. 30, 1616, with the understanding "that he should make direct preparations for a voyage to Guiana," to discover a gold mine, in the proceeds of which the King was to share, he left Plymouth on June 12th, 1617, and returned to the same port on June 21st of the following year. His *Apologie for his Voyage to Guiana* remained unprinted till 1650.²²⁵ It adds nothing to our knowledge of the country, but is the apology of a broken-hearted man, who had lost his fortune and his eldest son. His own words are: "I have spent my poore estate, lost my sonne, and my health, and endured as many sorts of miseries as ever man did, in hope to do his Majesty acceptable service." In addition, his most trusted associate, Capt. Keymis, had committed suicide. Whatever else may be urged against Raleigh, he was to the last a firm believer in the gold of Guiana, and modern investigations are gradually confirming the correctness of that belief. His most recent biographer, W. Stebbing, corroborates this in a most marked manner: "Of the gold field in Venezuela, which was comprised in Raleigh's Guiana, a Government Inspector of Mines stated in 1889 that he believed we had in it Sir Walter's el Dorado itself." (*Life of Raleigh*, 121.) But in 1618 the expedition of Raleigh failed, and to please the Spaniards James sent him to the block.

The Historical Section is the last one to describe, and we commence with JOHN HOOKER, HOKER, or VOWELL (1526 ?-1601), the Exeter Chamberlain, who heads the list with his numerous productions.

The publication of *The Chronicles* of R. Holinshed, in 1577, had been so successful, that another edition was soon needed, but the author having died in 1580, the editorship was entrusted to Hooker, and although he wrote many important works, this was his principal published one. It was issued in three folio volumes in 1586-7, and the *Annals* were not only continued up to the date of publication by Hooker,²²⁶ but amongst many other additions, his own separate contributions consist of an account of the Great Rebellion in the West in 1549, a description of Exeter and of the sieges it had sustained, and a Catalogue of the Bishops of Exeter. The second volume includes a translation by Hooker, of the Irish Historie written by Giraldus Cambrensis, with a dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom "John Hooker wisheth a long, a happie, and a prosperous life, with the increase of honour." It may be noted, that Shakespeare borrowed the plots of his English and Scotch historical plays from Holinshed's volumes.

Almost of equal celebrity to Hooker as an historian and antiquary is JOHN BARKHAM or BARCHAM, D.D. (1572 ?-1642), also a native of Exeter, better known for rendering literary assistance to others, rather than for any separate publications of his own. To Speed's *History of Great Britaine* (1611), in addition to other assistance, he contributed "The Life of Henry II." (455-471), and "The Life of John" (483-507), the latter being termed by Fuller (i. 276) "the King of all the Raigns in that Book, for profound penning."²²⁷

How far he assisted John Guillim in his *Display of Heraldry* is unknown. Wood (iii. 36) attributes the work to Barkham, "being mostly composed in his younger years," but deeming it "too light a subject for him to own" he gave the copy to Guillim, "who, adding some trivial things to it, published it, with leave from the author, under his own name, and it goeth to this day under the name of *Guillim's Heraldry*." In this opinion Dr. Bliss (*Ibid.* ii. 299) did not coincide. That Barkham simply helped him in the work is more probable, and, to use the words of Fuller (i. 276), "Mr. Guillim, in Heraldry, was much beholden to this Doctor's emendations." There is a paper on this subject by F. R. Olifant in *Blackwood's Magazine* for June, 1886, in which Guillim's claim to the authorship is tolerably well established

as the correct one. Wood (iii. 36) reports that he wrote the preface to a posthumous book of Crakanthorp against the Archbishop of Spalatro, and also "a book containing coins in MS.," now lost. He gave his collection of coins to Archbishop Laud, who subsequently presented it to the Bodleian Library.

WILLIAM MARTIN (1562-1617), a member of a family of much importance in Exeter, to which it gave several Mayors, he himself being Recorder (1605-1617), published, the year before his death, *The Historic and Lives of the Kings of England* (1616), extending to the end of the reign of Henry VIII. James I. "took some exceptions at a passage therein, sounding either to the derogation of his own family, or of the Scotch nation," and this, according to Fuller (i. 275), hastened the death of the author. In his dedication he complains that "yong gentlemen . . . doe rather . . . reade ouer the more narrowly contracted Histories of other countries, than the voluminous discourses of their owne." There are curious commendatory verses written by each of his sons and his son-in-law. The history is of local interest, for containing an account of the siege of Exeter by the Cornish rebels, and of the visit of Henry VII. to that city. Other editions followed in 1628 and 1635, the latter (by B. R.) being continued to the reign of Elizabeth.²²⁸

Three minor books bear the name of SIR W. RALEGH (1552-1618) as author. 1. *Tubus Historicus: An Historicall Perspective* (1636), a set of Chronological Tables, with a Catalogue of Kings, &c.²²⁹ 2. *A Discourse of Tenures*, first printed in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa* (1781), i. 50-94, and 3, *An Introduction to a Breviary of the History of England, with the Reign of King William the I.* (1693)—two short articles printed from a MS. formerly in the possession of Archbishop Sancroft, by Dr. Moore, afterwards Bishop of Ely, by whom "the Preface of the Publisher" was written. (Oldys, i. 460-1.) That they are simply fragments of an intended larger work is evident from the opening passage of the Introduction: "I intend . . . to write a Brief History of England, from William I. entitled the Conqueror, to the End of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth of perpetual memory."²³⁰

In the department of Irish history we have, in addition to the labours of Hooker already mentioned, two other Devon contributors. SIR JOSIAS BODLEY (1550?-1618), born at Exeter, the younger brother of Sir Thomas Bodley, saw much active service in Ireland during the early part of the

17th century, and wrote a kind of Itinerary in doggerel Latin verse, entitled *A Jocular Description of a Journey by him taken to Lecale in Ulster* in 1602, published with a translation in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, ii. (1854) 73-97. He is also reported to have penned *Observations concerning the Fortresses of Ireland*, a MS. said by Wood (ii. 127) to have been in the library of Sir I. Ware, and afterwards probably in that of the Earl of Clarendon, now lost.

To GEORGE CAREW, Baron Carew of Clopton and Earl of Totnes (1555-1629), a Devonian (Wood, ii. 446), we owe the vast literary collections which throw so much light on Irish history, and especially upon the province of Munster (of which he was president, 1600-1603) during the thirty years he spent in Ireland (1574-1603). Although generally credited with (probably on Wood's authority, ii. 447-8) *Pacata Hibernia. . . . Or, an historie of the late warres of Ireland* (1633), "the virtual author . . . is undoubtedly Sir Thomas Stafford, reputed to be Carew's illegitimate son, who had served under Carew in Munster." (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*) This is based upon the MS. collections bequeathed to him by Carew, and which subsequently came into the possession of Archbishop Laud.²³¹

Two volumes of the Camden Society, edited by J. Maclean, contain interesting correspondence to and from him. In the first (1860), *Letters from him to Sir Thomas Roe*, then Ambassador to the Court of the Great Mogul (1615-1617), are full of gossiping news and social history. The second (1864), *Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to him* (1600-1603), relate principally to Irish affairs. He was the friend of the literary men of his time, and assisted Camden in his *Britannia*. According to Wood (ii. 448), he made collections for a History of the reign of Henry V., "which were remitted" into Speed's work, and some authors have thereupon asserted that Carew wrote the article, but Wood's statement does not amount to this.²³²

Under the heading of Social History, the history of minor local events, at one time unnoticed by the ordinary historian, but now recognised as being of much importance, in addition to the Carew correspondence, just noted, three other works may be cited. For the first we are indebted to PHILIP WYOT (-1608?), a Devonian, and probably a native of Branton, who, during his period of office of Town Clerk of Barnstaple (1586-1608), kept a journal of local occurrences, deaths, prices of food, and many matters of local interest. The

greater portion of it was utilised by J. B. Gribble in his *Memorials of Barnstaple* (1830), without acknowledgment. It was first printed in *extenso* by Mr. J. R. Chanter in his *Literary History of Barnstaple* (91-119), together with a continuation to 1678, by the Rev. R. Wood, Vicar of Fremington. The following extracts will indicate the general character of the entries:

1586. "About this time commandment given that the beacons sh^d be re-edified and diligently watched day and night, and that post horses sh^d be pvided in ev^r towne, and that ev^r pson sh^d pvide in rediness his armour."
 1587. August 14. "Lord Bath and the Countess his wyfe dyned at the new Mr. Maiors—the women this yeare were not bidden wherefore there was much chatteringe among them."
 1588. "Much afraid of a Spanish invasion."
 (J. R. Chanter, *Op. cit.* 92-94.)

The REV. GEO. LYDE (-1673), a native of Berry Pomeroy, yields the second example. He became Vicar of Widecombe-in-the-Moor in 1636, and two years later, on Oct. 21, 1638, while he was officiating in the pulpit, the church was struck by lightning and four persons were killed and sixty-four injured. One poetical and several prose relations of the occurrence were printed in the same year. Mr. Lyde was certainly the author of the metrical one, of which these are the opening lines:

"In Devon lyeth a parish long and wide
 Called Widecombe, where pleasant rivers glide."

It is believed he was also the author of the principal prose one, entitled *A Second and most exact Relation of those sad and lamentable Accidents, which happened in and about the Parish Church of Wydecombe neere the Dartmoores, in Devonshire, on Sunday the 21 of October last, 1638.*²³³

The third is *The Diary of* WALTER YONGE (-1649), of Colyton, Sheriff of Devon in 1628, edited for the Camden Society by Geo. Roberts, in 1848. There are only a few items of local events, the majority of the entries relating to general news, proceedings in Parliament, &c. This is the first entry:—"1604 was the greatest pestilence in London that ever was heard of or known by any man living. There died about 3000 weekly." (1.)

Coming to local and parochial history we have to re-introduce the name of the City Chamberlain JOHN HOOKER

(1526 ?-1601), who stands almost alone in this branch. He wrote a *History of Exeter*, a huge folio volume of MS. preserved among the Municipal Archives of Exeter, in the catalogue of which, made by Mr. Stuart Moore (1870), it is described as "the Fair Copy made for the use of the Chamber." It is dedicated "To the right worshipfull grave and prudent the Mayor Senators and Cominaltie of the auncient and honorable citie of Excester," and is decorated with coloured coats of arms, and other water colour drawings.²³⁴ This and another, termed *The Common-place Book* of John Vowell *alias* Hoker, include all his principal collections relating to Exeter and its haven. The latter is of especial value for containing many original documents. The greater part of both volumes is in Hooker's own handwriting.²³⁵ Of the first, a portion of the history of Exeter was published in 1583, and in Hooker's edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1586); also by A. Brice in 1765. A list of the officers of the city and their duties, contained in the second, was printed in 1584, but differs greatly from the MS. and is much fuller in the latter. The same volume also includes "The Statutes, &c., concerning the ordringe of Orphans, &c.," printed in 1575, remarkable for its long dedicatory epistle; also the valuable Annals of the City, with the Extracts from the Mayors' Court Rolls. Hooker's important work on the City (small portions only of which were published by him), has been the great store from which Izacke and others have borrowed largely, too often without the slightest acknowledgment; and it is greatly to be regretted that a man who did so much honour to his native city should be so little honoured there, that for nearly 300 years his great work upon the history of that city has remained in MS., and is apparently likely to continue so.²³⁶ The only other work on local history belonging to this period appears to be Pole's *Parochial Antiquities of Colyton*, a MS. now in the Bodleian Library.

Another phase of this section to notice is County History, embracing everything genealogical, ecclesiastical, topographical, manners and customs, &c. Of the topographical portion the earliest territorial record we possess is that of the Domesday Survey, followed by the labours of William of Worcester²³⁷ in the fifteenth century, and subsequently by those of Leland and Camden.

The earliest attempt to compile a history of this county was probably made by JOHN HOOKER, but he, together with Pole, Risdon, and Westcote, were making collections for

this purpose almost simultaneously, so that it is difficult to assign the proper succession of each in order of time. Hooker's claim to be considered as a County Historian, rests on a MS. never yet printed, contained in the Harleian Collection 5827,²³⁸ and bearing "the old title" of "A Discourse of Devonsh. & Cornwall, with Blazon of Arms, the Bishops of Exeter, the Revenues of the Deneries and Parsonages and other Gentlemen." It relates mainly to this County, and "contains many good descriptions of Parishes, with some copies of curious Charters," and "a circular delineation of the precinct of the Forest of Dartmoor." Some years ago this was recognised as Hooker's MS., *Synopsis Chorographica, or brief description of the Province of Devon*. It contains a description of Devon worthies, among whom he enumerates himself. In it, after relating his travels on the Continent, he adds, "but by the reason of the warres then proclaymed in fraunce and he in daunger to have benne taken prysoner was dryven to shyfte him selffe homewardes. And not long after he was dryven to take a wyffe and then all his desyres and zeale to lernynge and knowledge therewth abated. Notwithstandinge he gave him selffe to the Readinge of histories and seekinge of antyquities and somewhat to Armory."²³⁹

Instead of his learning and suffering diminution, as a matter of fact all his great MS. Collections and printed works date from a period subsequent to his being "dryven to take a wyffe."

From this *Synopsis* Prince drew many materials for his *Worthies*, and his memoir of Hooker was mainly derived from it, for he remarks, "what I shall further add of this eminent person, shall be taken . . . out of that narrative of his life, written by himself." (505.)

Whatever may be the claims of his contemporaries, undoubtedly the father of our County History is SIR WILLIAM POLE (1561-1635), born at Shute. Under the title of *Collections towards a description of the County of Devon*, a portion of his labours was published in 1791 by his descendant, Sir William de la Pole, Bart. It is mainly a Genealogical History of the County, with lists of various kinds, *e.g.*, of the Bishops of Exeter, "as Mr. Hooker hath recorded them"; of those who held their lands from the Crown, extending down to the time of Charles I., men of note "either in warre or peace," Sheriffs, Arms of families, &c., all of the greatest literary value. Excepting the interesting description of Exeter (108-111), topography forms no portion of it.

That he contemplated the idea of writing, on a worthy basis, the entire history of his native county, his extensive MS. Collections amply demonstrate,²⁴⁰ "and it is much to be lamented that he did not live to perfect the extensive work which he had meditated." (Intro. to *Collections*, vii.) A letter of his, dated April 37th, 1604, shows that he was at that early period actively engaged in gathering materials for family history, and in it he remarks, "I purpose (God willing) to set out something for the Antiquities of Devonshire. And therefore doe pray you of your best help, &c." (*Ibid.* iv.-vi. The original letter is in Harl. MS. 1195.)

Our third county historian, TRISTRAM RISDON (1580-1640), born at Winscot, near Torrington, is said to have commenced his *Survey of Devon* in 1605, and finished it in 1630. Of this many MS. copies are known to exist.²⁴¹ No attempt to publish it was made until Edward Curll, the notorious bookseller, of "the Dial and Bible, against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet-street," London, having obtained one of the copies, was about to print a selection from it (more probably had already printed one), when Prince, of *Worthies* fame, had his attention drawn to it, and remonstrated with Curll for sending out an imperfect work. Accordingly the latter printed the second, a larger and more important volume than the first, with the title *A Continuation of the Survey of Devonshire*. Curll acknowledged the "generous Assistance in this Work" he had received from Prince. Both volumes are dated 1714, and the first is entitled *The Chorographical Description; or, Survey of the County of Devon*,²⁴² &c., and has an Appendix of four pages, headed, "Some account of the Family of the Spicers," with a plate of arms. In most copies will be found an engraving of the Great Conduit at Exeter. Curll's edition is extremely unsatisfactory—it is imperfect, badly arranged, and irregularly paged. The first volume possesses an index, the second none. Davidson records editions of 1723, 1725, and 1733, probably re-issues of the original one, with new title-pages. The best appeared in 1811, "printed from a genuine Copy of the Original MS., with considerable additions," the latter "forming about a fourth part of the volume." It has a good index. The introduction, signed "J. T." (i.-xxxvi.), and the account of Dartmoor, were written by John Taylor, of Holwell, near Tavistock, an eminent mining engineer. Dr. Woolcombe, of Plymouth, and the Rev. J. Swete, also rendered assistance; the latter contributed, in an Appendix of fourteen pages, "Names of the Noblemen and principal Gentlemen in the County of Devon,

their Seats and Parishes at the commencement of the Nineteenth Century." At the latter end of the last century Mr. William Chapple, of Exeter, commenced the preparation of a new edition of Risdon's work, but died before he had made much progress in it. The fragment he had prepared was issued in 1785, as *A Review of part of Risdon's Survey of Devon*, with Notes and Additions by Chapple.

Risdon's work contains more topography and less family history than that of Pole, from whom however he acknowledges having received assistance. His words are: "From whose Lamp I have received Light in these my Labours." (Ed. 1714, i. 54.)²⁴³

The last of the four to notice is THOMAS WESTCOTE (1567-1640?), born at West Raddon, in the parish of Shobrook. As was the case with his two predecessors, Pole and Risdon, but one work is credited to him, and this remained in MS. for a considerable time before it was printed.²⁴⁴ His *View of Devonshire in MDCXXX.*, with a Pedigree of most of its Gentry, edited by the Rev. Dr. Oliver and Mr. Pitman Jones, was published in 1845. Two-thirds of the work consist of the *View*. The Pedigrees form a distinct section. The Epilogue or "a postscript by way of Apology," addressed to the Reader, includes a number of "Objections" that might be advanced against the work, all answered *seriatim*. It is pleasantly written, includes many poetical quotations, classical (translated) and modern, interspersed through the text, and is evidently the production of a well-read, cultured man. It contains much more topography than either of the two previous works, and arranged in the form of a gossiping itinerary:²⁴⁵ short allusions or hints being sometimes substituted for descriptions, *e.g.*, "Titshill . . . The church is worth your view." (305.) The sad charge of being an "appropriator" has been brought against him. In a description of Hooker's *Synopsis Chorographica*, Mr. E. Levien affirms, "The similarity is so great between it and Westcote's *View of Devonshire*—many passages, indeed, being copied verbatim—that there can be little or no doubt but that Westcote had access to this MS., and made free use of it for his own work." ("Unpublished Devonshire MSS. in the British Museum," *Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xviii, 141).

The last division of this section—General History—is represented by one work alone, the *magnum opus* of Sir W. RALEGH (1552-1618), one of the most important ever penned

in a prison²⁴⁶—a great conception, carried out in part only, but a magnificent fragment. During his long confinement he found consolation in literature—he could not be idle—cheered by the occasional visits of those whose friendship he valued.

“I brought the wise and brave of ancient days
To cheer the cell where Raleigh pined alone.”

The history of the book, the question of its divided authorship, its attempted suppression, the cause that led him to leave it uncompleted (the early death of Prince Henry, for whom he had written it) have all been fully related in our *Transactions*. (*D.A.* xix. 389–418.) This great folio of nearly 1300 pages, was the third and last of his works printed and issued during his lifetime. It opens with an account of the Creation of the World, gives the history of the Jews, of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome, down to the end of the second Macedonian war. The evenly-told, admirable, historical narrative, set in good nervous English, extorts the praise of the modern literary student, by whom, however, a higher value is now set upon the many parallel descriptions and illustrations, gathered from his extensive reading and life-long experience, and brought to bear upon the events of which he is treating. Learned though it be it is free from pedantry. It is one of the foundations of our modern English, and with the exception of a few words and phrases might have been the work of a present-day author. A few of his illustrations may be cited. 1. He parallels the difficulties encountered by Alexander in his passage over “those mountains which sunder Susiana and Persia,” with those of Francis I. in crossing the Alps in 1515. 2. His account of the naval battle between the Romans and Carthaginians finds a comparison in one of the leading incidents of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The work abounds with such. 3. In exemplification of his remark, that “what strength cannot do, man’s wit—being the most forcible engine—hath often effected”; he relates the manner in which the Island of Sark was recaptured from the French in the time of Queen Mary, and finishes with the corollary, “thus a fox’s tail doth sometimes help well to piece out the lion’s skin, that else would be too short.” This idea, probably taken from Raleigh’s work, has been employed by Lord Lytton in his *Richelieu*:

“The lion’s skin’s too short to-night,
Now for the fox’s.” (Act 3, sc. 3.)

Interspersed through the work are many quotations from

the great classic poets, with translations; of these Ovid holds the chief place, then follow Virgil, Horace, Juvenal. The preface (32 pp.) is complete in itself, and is very pleasant reading. Of "the Mistresse of Man's life, graue Historie," he thus enlarges on the benefits to be derived from it:

"Among many other benefits, for which it hath bin honoured; in this one it triumpheth ouer all humane knowledge, That it hath given vs life in our vnderstanding, since the world it selfe had life and beginning, euen to this day: yea it hath triumphed ouer time, which besides it nothing hath triumphed ouer." (3.)

In the first half, is a long catalogue of the crimes of many Kings of England, France, and Spain, and of the retribution that pursued their families, and though he praises James I., he found no favour with that king, who regarded royalty as being above reproof, and deemed Raleigh "too sawcie in censuring princes." Among other subjects he treats of, are a philosophical consideration of the creation of the world, the difference between "God and Nature," &c. In his comments upon "Experience without Art," he employs a very homely illustration, "The Cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that soure Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd." (23.)

No one has remarked more beautifully on the general character of Raleigh's great volume than P. F. Tytler—

"Written in prison during the quiet evening of a tempestuous life, we feel, in its perusal, that we are the companions of a superior mind, nursed in contemplation, and chastened and improved by sorrow, in which the bitter recollection of injury and the asperity of resentment have passed away, leaving only the heavenly lesson, that all is vanity." (*Life of Sir W. Raleigh* (1833) 347.)

Of its literary importance Creighton thus testifies in commenting upon it, and the works of two contemporary historians, Daniel and Knolles. They "show an enlarged conception of historical writing, which was altogether new in England, and from which the rise of critical history can really be traced." (*Age of Elizabeth*, 203.) And the historian, J. R. Green, bears similar testimony, for displaying—to use his words—"a widening of historic interest beyond the merely national bounds to which it had hitherto been confined." (*Op. cit.* ii. 456.) We may feel satisfied it was read and enjoyed by the Puritan leaders, for in a letter of April 2, 1650, to his son Richard, Oliver Cromwell thus directs him: "Recreate yourself with Sir Walter Raleigh's History: it's a Body of History; and will add much more to your

understanding than fragments of Story." (*Letters* by T. Carlyle (1846), ii. 161.) Even Hume praised it.

Of the enormous popularity of the work there are many evidences, the chief being the publication of ten editions, besides several issues of some between 1614 and 1687. The like can hardly be said of any other large and expensive folio issued in that or the next century."²⁴⁷

Two peculiarities in the work remain to be mentioned, first, the entire absence of humour; second, in death being a common theme throughout the work, the preface included. Of the latter M. Taine remarks:

"The courtier, Raleigh, whilst writing of the fall of empires, and how the barbarous nations had destroyed this grand and magnificent Roman Empire, ended his book with the ideas and tone of a Bossuet." (*Hist. of Eng. Literature* (1886) ii. 187.)

He alludes to the following passage at the close of Raleigh's work, one of the finest prose poems in the English language, with which we may fitly terminate our notice of the volume, and of Devonian writers generally:

"It is . . . Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe . . . O eloquent, iust, and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast perswaded; whom none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised; thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet.*"

To the foregoing rapid sketch of the History and Progress of the Literature of this county, down to the meeting of the Long Parliament, it is scarcely necessary to add anything of the nature of a summary; nevertheless a few supplementary remarks are needed. No doubt many MS. writings and printed works by unrecognised Devon authors are in existence, but a similar remark holds good with respect to other counties. A more important matter for our present purpose is that six writers, included by Prince in his catalogue of our worthies, and one other, must bow to the inexorable logic of facts, and be discarded from our list. They consist of Alexander Neckham, Robert Pullen, Archbishop Langton, John Garland, John Stanberry, Bishop Babington, and John Cutcliffe. These omissions are much to be regretted, especially as Alexander Neckham and John Garland were two of the leading scientific men of the 12th and 13th centuries.²⁴⁸

Works on Science were remarkably few throughout the entire period, and there were none on natural history or medicine.²⁴⁹ We have had to record but few writers among the great county families. Elevation to the episcopal bench, as a rule, implied cessation from literary work on the part of the new occupants. In some instances their time was fully engaged as officers of state; thus Bishop Brantyngham was Lord High Treasurer of England, and as he retained this office after his consecration as Bishop of Exeter on May 12th, 1370, it prevented him from visiting his See for the first time until July, 1371. For twenty years he remained in the same State office, and could not have spent much time away from Court. He was released from the duty in 1390, and died four years afterwards. Much of their time must have been spent in visiting the various parts of their extensive diocese, as shewn by the itineraries of Bishops Bronescombe, Quivil, Stapleton, and Stafford, in the Rev. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph's edition of the *Bishops' Registers*, when travelling was slow, difficult, and often attended with danger. But to this there were some marked exceptions. Bishop Hall continued his literary work, but not perhaps to the same extent as before his elevation; and Bishop Jewell is not recorded to have done any marked amount until after his elevation: in his case it was an exceptional matter, and forced upon him by the circumstances of the period in which he lived.

The absence of female writers throughout the entire period is a very remarkable feature, and presents a striking contrast to their place in literature at the present day. We can hardly understand those with highly-cultivated intellects, as, for instance, Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth, being absentees. Amongst the Devonians we know at present but one exception (and that a doubtful one), a nun of Heidenheim who wrote the *Itinerary of St. Willibald* and the biographies of his brother and sister. Has any author attempted to explain the reason of this apparent anomaly? Times were changing, and at the latter part of the last century we find Cowper commenting on (lamenting?) the new order of things:

"While learning, once the man's exclusive pride,
Seems verging fast towards the female side." (*Progress of Error*.)

On the other hand, Devon has ever held the chief place in England for its eminent lawyers, who are yet regarded as the great legal authorities. Bracton in the 13th, Fortescue in the 15th, and Dodderidge in the 16th century; in addition to many others, like the Glanvilles, who were not authors.

With the advent of the Elizabethan era, the floodgates of literature appeared to be set wide open for the first time, judging from the greatly increased number of writers in all its departments. The altered forms of religion were at first attended with an active controversy with Rome, and before the end of our period it had changed its direction into controversy with the Puritan body. Among all the large folios and smaller works of forgotten religious lore, there remains to us the truly Christian work of the "judicious" Richard Hooker, his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, a work still happily regarded as one of great value and authority. It is not a little remarkable that the statement made by Mr. Gladstone, "that in the sixteenth century the deepest and most vital religious influences within the two Universities respectively were addressed, at Oxford to the making of recusants, at Cambridge to the production of Zwinglians and Calvinists" (*The Romanes Lecture*, 1892, 24) scarcely holds good with respect to Devonshire, the leading literary Puritans having been educated at Oxford.

Coming to Poetry, we have Raleigh's varied lines, the sweet pastoral verse of William Browne, and the unequalled songs of Herrick; while the Drama is amply represented in its rise by George Peele, immediately prior to the great master dramatist Shakespeare; by John Ford shortly after; and in its decadence by the productions of W. Strode and Jasper Mayne. Devonshire led the way in an entirely new branch of literature, the records of the deeds of the great voyagers, naval warriors, and colonisers, chronicled mainly by Hakluyt and Purchas, and in a few instances by the actors themselves, as in those of Raleigh and the Hawkinses. The multifarious works of the former were as a rule published during the time of the Commonwealth, three only being issued during his lifetime, but they were his most memorable works. We must not omit to note that Richard Hooker and Raleigh were the moulders of our modern English, and serve to testify that

"Beneath the rule of men entirely great,
The pen is mightier than the sword." (*Richelieu*, act 2, sc. 2.)

Although among our County Historians, Hooker belongs to the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth; and Pole, Kisdon, and Westcote to that of James I.; the labors of the first-named yet remain in MS., and many years elapsed before the works of the other three were printed, as though the subject lacked interest with the general public.

As in ordinary mundane things a custom termed fashion, always fitful, wayward, and unreasoning, governs, with a rod of iron, the destinies of the social world, we cannot altogether expect that books will be exempted from its operation. By it, old books, "the assembled souls of all that men held wise," such as have formed the subject of this address, are passed by, for fashion demands novelty.

"Books, like times, do shift, each thing his time does hold,
New things succeed as former things grow old."

So sung Herrick. But "*tempus edax rerum*"; one is reminded of the proverb, cited by John Hooker, in the dedication of his MS. History of Exeter, that

"Be the day never so longe
At length it ringeth at eveninge songe."

Let me therefore conclude this address with a quotation from the closing passage of an old-fashioned work, written by Raleigh's kinsman, Richard Carew of Antony:

"Diogenes, after he had tired his scholars with a long lecture, finding at last the voyde paper, Bee glad, my friends (quoth hee) wee are come to harbour. With the like cumfort, in an vnlike resemblance, I will refresh you who haue vouchsafed to trauaile in the rugged and wearysome path of mine ill-pleasing stile, that now your iourney endeth with the land . . . I will heere sit mee downe and rest."

APPENDIX A.

THE following is a list of the principal works referred to, and under the name or initials within brackets :

- Transactions of the Devonshire Association.* (D. A.)
 Rev. J. Prince, *Worthies of Devon*, 1810. (Prince.)
Dictionary of National Biography to vol. xxxiv. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)
 Ant. A. Wood, *Athenæ Ox. and Fasti*, ed. by Dr. Bliss, 5 vols., 1815. (Wood.)
 T. Fuller, D.D., *History of the Worthies of England*, 1662. (Fuller.)
 J. Pits, *De Illust. Brit. Scriptoribus*, 1619. (Pits.)
 T. Wright, *Biographia Brit. Literaria*, 2 vols., 1842, 1846. (T. Wright.)
 H. Hallam, *Literary History*, 3 vols., 1873. (Hallam.)
 T. Warton, B.D., *History of Eng. Poetry*, 4 vols., 1824. (Warton.)
 S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*, 10 vols., 1883-4. (Gardiner.)
 J. R. Green, *History of the English People*, 4 vols., 1880-1. (Green.)
 R. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, &c., of the English Nation*, ed. by E. Goldsmid, 16 vols., 1885-1890. (Hakluyt.)
Western Antiquary, 11 vols., 1882-1893. (W. A.)

1. The letters were published for the first time, and in the original Latin, by N. Serarius, at Mainz, in 1605, and passed through several editions. That of Jaffé, in *Monumenta Moguntina* (1866), is the basis of the paper, "St. Boniface and his Correspondence," by E. Bishop, in *D. A.* viii. 497-516.

2. These Itineraries have formed the subjects of two papers by the Very Rev. Canon Brownlow :

"St. Willibald : a West-country Pilgrim of the Eighth Century."

"The Brother and Sister of Saint Willibald."

(*D. A.* xxii. 212-228 ; xxiii. 225-238.)

3. Confusion of names has led the works of other writers (e.g. Alfred of Canterbury) to be attributed to him. It is noteworthy that the second work named, was also the title of one written by Alex. Neckam (1157-1217) v. Wright, i. 478, 9 ; ii. 457. Even the duration of his Bishopric of Crediton is very uncertain ; according to Le Neve it was 22 years, to Godwin 9 years, and to Dr. Oliver 4 years : the last being probably the correct period. Dr. Oliver (*Bps. of Exeter*, 4) attributes some other works to him.

4. Prince (567) is the authority for this title, and gives "Synopsis of Devon MS." by Hooker as his authority. This is apparently the "Synopsis Chorographica," preserved in Harl. MS. 5827, from which the following is extracted:—"He attended Kinge Canutus in his pylgramege at Rome. And whereof as of other his owne doings he wrote as it is sayed one booke."

5. The list will be found in E. H. Pedler's *Anglo-Saxon Episcopate of Cornwall*, 136-140; and in F. S. Merryweather's *Bibliomania*, 149. It is somewhat remarkable that Dr. Dibdin, in his *Bibliomania*, fails to notice Leofric's Library, although he makes special allusion to Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough, for being the possessor, at a later date (1177), of 57 volumes.

6. Although to H. Wanley is due the credit of having given the earliest account of it, in his Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS. (in Dr. G. Hickes' *Thesaurus*, 1703-5), the attention of the literary world may be said to have had its value first pointed out by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare (who accompanied it with a Latin translation), in two papers, read by him in 1812 and following year, before the Society of Antiquaries. These will be found in *Archæologia*, xvii. 180-197, and, subsequently, in a more extended form, in *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (1826), edited by his brother, the Rev. W. D. Conybeare. A new edition of the *Codex*, by Mr. Israel Gollancz, is in course of publication by the Early English Text Society.

7. Thorpe affirms he did not understand the poem, and was "unable to translate it." (*Op. cit.* 352-355, 522-525.) H. Morley (*Eng. Writers before Chaucer* (1864), 326) declares it to be "the only known example of an Anglo-Saxon rhyming poem," and that "Mr. Thorpe finds it to be a free paraphrase of a passage in Job, with words perverted to make them rhyme," but the passage cannot be found in Thorpe's notes in the *Codex*.

8. Here is a translation of a short one that bears much resemblance to several modern variants:—

"A man sat at wine
with his two wives,
and his sons twain,
and his two daughters,
own brothers and sisters,
and their sons twain,
gentle first borns.
The father was therein
of those youths
both,
with uncle and nephew.
In all were five
men and women
sitting within."

(*Op. cit.* 431, 2.)

9. Attention may be called to the completion, by a Committee of Members of this Association, of *The Devonshire Domesday*, which, commenced in 1884, has been regularly supplied in parts to the members for nine successive years, without any increase in the annual subscription, but not without some strain upon the general finances of the Association. This, and the Supplementary Geld Inquest, form a work of nearly 1,300 pages. The text of each Domesday has been extended, and printed on opposite pages for comparison, and to each entry has been added an English translation. To crown all, there are very full indices. No more important work bearing upon the history of this county has ever been printed. The Committee and the Hon. Secretary—the latter especially for having in addition undertaken the task of extending the text of the *Inquisitio Geldi*, and of its translation—are highly to be congratulated for having so satisfactorily completed their labours, and thereby well earned the hearty thanks of all literary and historical students.

A singular anecdote relating to the restoration of a missing leaf of the Exeter Domesday Book, is mentioned by B. Botfield in his *Cathedral Libraries* (1849), 139. It was removed, so it was thought, by Dean Wylughby or Willoughby (Dean of Exeter 1496–1508), and was restored by one of his descendants during the present century.

10. It is curious that in the following century (1330) Pits (426, 7) records another of the same name, also a native of Devon and a Dominican monk. Of four works assigned to him, one—*Super Magistrum Sententiarum*—reported to be preserved at Oxford, appears also in the account of the earlier one. As no other author mentions one of the 14th century, Pits probably made an error.

11. Pits (250) mentions the title of one work as *De obitu S. Thomæ Cantuariensis*. Probably this was the sermon he preached when the cathedral was re-opened. Several MS. copies of his works were formerly in the Exeter Cathedral Library. Two of them are still in existence, *Dialogus contra Judæos* and a *Liber penitentialis*, the former in the Bodleian Library, and the latter in the Cotton MS. Brit. Museum.

12. John Sibera, as was customary in that and the next centuries at Cambridge, carried on his printing in his own house, the site of which is now occupied by part of Gonville and Caius College. (Willis & Clark, *Univ. of Cambridge*, iii. 130, 1.) A MS. copy on vellum of Baldwin's work, that formerly belonged to the Abbey of Waltham, is among the Ashburnham MSS. It is headed "Baldwinus, Frater Monasterii Fordensis," &c.; and as he succeeded Robert de Penynton as Abbot in 1168, it must have been written before that date. (*8th Rep. Hist. MSS. Com.*, pt. iii. p. 24.)

13. In the notice of the Eton College copy, contained in *9th Rep. Hist. MSS. Com.* i. 357, the dedication to Bartholomew is alone mentioned. The Provost of the College, Dr. Hornby, has kindly examined the MS. for the writer, and finds that it has both dedications.

14. On the authority of an Acrostic, in the opening lines of his abridgment of the work of Boethius, Wright (ii. 349) asserts his proper name to have been Simon du Fresne, but this is simply a translation in French of the name Ash or Fraxinus, assigned to him by Pits, Leland, and Prince. He is said to have been a Canon of Hereford Cathedral, but he is not mentioned in Le Neve's list. Although recognised by Morley (*Eng. Writers before Chaucer 600*) and others, he finds no place in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

15. His *De Bello Trojano* is a paraphrase of a history of the war, written in Greek by Dares, a Phrygian priest, in the 3rd century. The first edition was printed at Basle in 1541, followed by one in 1558, under the pseudonym of Cornelius Nepos. So imperfect, however, was it that Leland spoke of it as "so corrupt an offspring that its father would scarce know it." The defects were remedied in a later edition under another editor. In France, M. Jusserand issued a portion of it in 1877. Long quotations from it are given by Wright (ii. 403-406), Warton (i. clxiii.-clxvi.), and Sir John Bowring—the last-named in "The Life and Writings of Josephus Iscanus, the Swan of Isca" (*D. A.* iv. 244-256.)

16. According to the *Registers of Bp. Bronescombe* (ed. by Rev. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph) Bracton was Rector of Combe-in-Teignhead (1259) and of Bideford (1261), Archdeacon of Barnstaple (1264), and Chancellor of the Cathedral (1264). At the time of his death (1268) he was Prebendary of Exeter and Bosham. It is noteworthy that Dr. Oliver does not identify the ecclesiastic with the judge; certain is it that he makes no reference to it. At "Bratton's Altar," instituted by him, and situated under the south side of the rood-loft of the Cathedral, the earliest daily mass was celebrated "for the convenience of the industrious population before they began their daily labour." (Dr. Oliver, *Bps. of Exeter*, 214, 222, 253, 361, 2.) In front of this altar Bracton's body was interred, and probably a large slab of Portland marble, measuring 6 ft. 6 in. x 3 ft. 8 in., covers the spot. From the crosses at the angles, and in the centre of this slab, it is evident it belonged formerly to an altar, and probably to that of Bracton. Some of his MSS. are recorded in the inventory of the Cathedral Library made in 1327, but none in that of 1506. (*Ibid.* 305, &c.) *Vide* "Henry de Bracton," by W. K. Willcocks, in *D. A.* xv. 180-195. A volume entitled *Bracton's Note Book. A Collection of Cases decided in the King's Courts during the reign of Henry the Third, annotated by a Lawyer of that time, seemingly by Henry de Bratton*, and edited by F. W. Maitland, was published in 1887.

17. The early Statutes of the College are printed in *Bishop Stapeldon's Register*, ed. by Rev. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, 303-310.

18. Dr. Oliver records a Robert de Plympton as Abbot of Tavistock Abbey, who died in 1141. (*Monasticon*, 90.) In a deed relating to Plympton Priory of 8 Edw. I. = 1280, the name of "frater Robertus prior to Plymton" appears. (*Ibid.* 139.) In his list of the Priors, Dr. Oliver notes Robert de Blundon as confirmed to that office on Nov. 1, 1263, and is of opinion that he was our author; but his successor was appointed in 1273, and this does not serve to corroborate the deed of 1280, unless the former Robert mentioned was a different person. This will serve to show the difficulties attending identification.

19. Quoted from Hoker's MS. in Oliver's *Monasticon*, 371. Leland gives the titles of three that remained in the Abbey at the time of its dissolution (*Collectanea*, iv. (1700) 152), and the titles of three others are noted by Pits (530).

20. To whom also, in Craik's *Hist. of Eng. Literature* (1861), i. 167, 8, is attributed a poem entitled "De Felice fille du Comte de Bukingham," extending to nearly 15,000 verses!

21. One of the prose versions was printed by Caxton in 1485, under the title of the *Lyf of the Noble and Cresten Prynce, Charles the Grete*.

22. Mr. Black compiled the *Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS.* in 1845, and in his description of the MS. of Sir Ferumbras (14, 15), gives a full account of the external evidence furnished by the covers, as follows: "They are a triple envelope of parchment flapping over the right hand cover, and consist of two sheets. The outer one is a letter executory of a bull of pope Innocent VI. for the presentation of Thomas de Pilton to the vicarage of Columpton in the diocese of Exeter, then vacant by the death of Peter Moleyns; which bull, being addressed to the Abbots of Schirbourne and Cerne, and to John de Silvis dean of S. Agricola at Avignon, was executed (by the last named) in the present letter addressed to the Bishop of Exeter. The foot, containing the date, is cut off; but the bull is dated at Villa-nova, 3 id. Maii, anno 5, which is 1357. The inner cover is a very long and imperfect public instrument, stating that before mass on the seventh Sunday after Trinity, in 1377, in the chapel of Holne in the diocese of Exeter, Roger Langman rector of Lydelynche (dioc. Salish.) publicly read and expounded an instrument which recites the proceedings and final sentence in the court of Rome, in consequence of the consecration of a burial-ground adjoining to the said chapel, which was prejudicial to the rights of John Brygge the vicar of Bucfastleghe, to whose parish-church the right of burial belonged, the said chapel being a member thereof." Mr. Black also found

"a part of the Author's original corrected draught of this poem, written on the back of the documents already described." Mr. H. Sweet is of opinion "that the draft and the MS. are in the same handwriting, and . . . of the same character and period as that of the second document described as forming part of the cover, which is the end of the fourteenth century." (Quoted by Mr. Herbage, xvi.)

23. Mr. F. T. Elworthy, in his article "On the Devonshire Pronoun Min, or Mun = Them" (*D.A.* xiii. 324-334), quotes freely from *Sir Ferunbras*, and affirms of the author, "The man wrote mainly in his native speech, and that clearly was Devonshire."

24. Pits, however, claims him for Chichester, but is most probably in error, having formed his opinion from the surname alone. The Chichester family was a well-known one in the North of Devon for several centuries. It gave a Bishop (Robert Chichester) to Exeter in the twelfth century, and in the early part of the seventeenth, Sir Arthur Chichester was created Baron of Belfast for distinguished services in Ireland. The same author reports him to have written the following:

"*Speculum historie, Libros quatuor*
Secundam partem Anglo-Saxonum Chronicon, Libros quinque
 Pars vtraque MS. reperitur Cantabrigiæ in bibliotheca publica
Chronicorum epitomen, Librum unum
 MS. Cantabrigiæ in Collegio S. Benedicti." (462, 3.)

25. The volume was edited by Mr. Stuart A. Moore. The documents were found during the time he was arranging the collection of archives belonging to the City. Of their discovery he states, "Some of the letters were found in the cupboards of the old Council Chamber, in the gallery of the Guildhall (now pulled down), but a great number had lain for years under the very tiles of the Guildhall roof, whence I rescued them from imminent destruction from damp." (Intro. xiv.)

26. He is recorded as a Devonian on the authority of Wood. (*Hist. and Antiq. of Ox.* ii. 25.) He was a Fellow of Exeter College, and afterwards of Eton. There is no account of his itineraries in Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine*. Cf. Macray's *Annals of Bodl. Lib.* (1890) 441, 472; Boase, *Reg. Ex. Coll.* (1879) xvii. 18, 9. There is an account of him in Bishop Tanner's *Bibliotheca*.

27. A Bibliographical list of his works will be found in Lord Clermont's *Hist. of the Fortescue family* (1880) 99-101. They are 13 in number, five of which have been burnt or lost. The remaining eight are included in the Collected Edition of his works, printed by Lord Clermont in 1869; previous to that year, the only treatises that had been published were the two described in the text. Risdon affirms "he wrote a Prayer-Book, which savoured much of the Times we live in." (*Survey of Devon* (1714) ii. 244.)

28. The work was not printed till the year 1714, and the Dedicatory Epistle of the Editor to Sir Thomas Parker is one of the most fulsome of its kind that ever was penned.

29. Edited by F. Devon. The introduction is of special interest, on account of the history and general account of the various records preserved in the ancient Pell Office or Tally Court of the Exchequer contained in it, as well as for a series of extracts extending from 5 Henry III. to 12 Charles I.

30. "Brandt's notion of a 'Ship' of Fools was derived from the old carnival processions on Shrove Tuesday, when among the pageants drawn through the streets was sometimes a ship on wheels, manned with grotesque merry-makers." (H. Morley, *English Writers*, vii. (1891) 94.)

31. He wrote many works after leaving this county. The principal were his *Egloges*, believed by Warton (iii. 81) to be "the first that appeared in the English language." But neither in popularity or in merit did they rival his *Ship of Fools*.

32. In an article on "Ye Schyppe of Fooles" in *Chips from a German Workshop*, iii. (1880) 64-75.

33. He closes his prefatory "Argument" thus:—"And to the entent y^t this my laboure may be the more pleasaunt vnto lettred men, I haue adioyned vnto the same ye verses of my Actour with dyuerse concordances of the Bybyll to fortyfy my wrytynge by the same, and also to stop the enuyous mouthes (If any suche shal be) of them that by malyce shall barke ayenst this my besynes."

34. These quotations, and the illustrative examples which follow, are taken from the excellent edition of Barclay's work by T. H. Jamieson (2 vols.), published in 1874.

35. The woodcut at the head of this section, represents a man with a hawk on his fist entering a church. At his feet are three dogs, two of them fighting.

36. One of the most powerful sections is entitled, "Of the abusyon of the spirituale." He laments

"The honor of religion euery where decays
From the kechyn to the quere and so to a state
One yester day a courter is nowe a prest become."

In the concluding verse of "Thenuoy" to the same section, he attacks the bishops for their laxity:—

"The cause why so many prestis lackyth wyt
Is in yon hysshops, if I durst trouthe expresse
Whiche nat consyder what men that ye admyt
Of lyunge cunnynge person and godlynes
But who so euer hym self thereto wyll dresse
If an angell be his brokar to the scribe
He is admytyd howe beit he be wytles
Thus solde is presthode for an vnhappy brybe." (ii. 59, 63.)

37. Amongst the works may be mentioned: *The Hospital for Incurable Fools*, by J. Garzoni (1600), translated by E. Blount (?); *The Scourge of Folly*, by John Davies of Hereford (1611); *Follie's Anatomie*, by H. Hutton (1619); *The Knot of Fools*, by J. Brewer (1624); "Stultorum plena sunt omnia" adorned the title of *Armin's Nest of Ninnies* (1608). The *Registers of the Stationers' Co.* contain the following notices of ballads or "ballets," licensed for printing:—

1567-8. *Agaynste the shippe of fooles.*

1569-70. *ye xxv orders of fooles*, reprinted in Huth's *Ancient Ballads*, &c. (1867) 128.

1586. *The xx^{ti}e orders of Knaues.*

1604. *The Ship of fooles.* (ed. Arber. i. 357, 414; ii. 451; iii. 273.)

38. Cf. "Myles Coverdale," by the Rev. Treasurer Hawker (*D. A.* x. 209-214); and "Did Miles Coverdale Translate the Scriptures at Paignton?" in "Devoniana," by J. T. White (*Ibid.* xiii. 191-193), the answer being a decided negative.

39. A singular drama relating to this matter, neither the author's name nor the date of publication of which are known, bears the title of *Courtney, Earl of Devonshire; or, the Troubles of the Princess Elizabeth. A Tragedy.* London: printed for Nicholas Cox at the Golden Bible without Temple-Bar. The printed work is evidently of the last century.

40. Is not included in the list of *Prison Books and their Authors*, by J. A. Langford (1861).

41. Prince (600) and Wood (*Fasti*, i. 24) assert he was Dean of Exeter, but his name does not appear in the lists of Le Neve and Dr. Oliver. Wood also states he "hath (as 't is thought) written several matters of his faculty, but lost." (*Ibid.* i. 82.)

42. Other editions appeared in 1568 and 1577, evidences of its popularity. It was reprinted by the Early English Text Society in 1868, from the last-named edition, under the able editorship of Dr. F. J. Furnivall.

43. Mr. Elworthy has given a general description of, and many extracts from, Rhodes' work in *D. A.* xxi. 419-430.

44. Books relating to domestic matters of all kinds, containing instructions as to etiquette and general behaviour, mingled with words of advice, and even with cookery receipts, were common in this and the preceding century. Under the title of "Manners and Meals in Olden Time" (1868), several English and foreign tracts on the subject have been printed by the Early Eng. Text Soc., edited by Dr. F. J. Furnivall. One of the earliest known is Caxton's *Book of Curtesye*, in rhymed stanzas, printed in 1477-8. Some of

its contents are so similar to portions of Rhodes' work as to render it probable he was well acquainted with them.

45. A full description of this festival will be found in Dr. Rock's *Church of Our Fathers*, iii. pt. 2, 215, 219. St. Nicholas was the patron of children, and on his day, December 6th, the boy-bishop was elected; who entered on his full duties on Holy Innocents Day.

46. The Benedictines were the most learned of the monastic orders. "All that Europe possessed of art or knowledge she owed to them," exclaims Dr. Dollinger. (*Conversations* by L. von Kobell, transl. by K. Gould (1892) 249.) It can, therefore, be no matter of wonderment, that they promoted the encouragement of literature in their early employment of the printing press at Tavistock.

47. The work of Boethius, the great philosopher of the 5th century, was always a popular one in England. It was translated and paraphrased by King Alfred, and a copy of his version, with one in the original Latin, were in Bishop Leofric's Library. It has been translated into several languages, an English version by Chaucer being one of the earliest fruits of Caxton's press. From Chaucer to Tennyson poets have gathered inspiration from its pages, and it was the solace of Elizabeth during her imprisonment in the time of Mary.

48. Dr. Oliver (*Monasticon*, 89) states, in error, that R. Langdon was the printer. Mr. A. Wallis calls attention to a curious note at the end of Herbert Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, iii. 1814:—"In the Bodleian Library is a copy of this book . . . in it are some MS. notes of Wanley's. In one of them he says:—'The printing composer who set the types of this book seems to have been either a Dutchman or a German, many words being printed according to foreign pronunciation, rather than according to our old English orthography, not to mention his frequent mistakes,'" &c.

49. The bibliographical particulars of the Tavistock press are contained in the article on Devonshire Printers, by the Rev. J. Ingle Dredge, in the *Western Antiquary*, v. 122, 3. To the references given by him this one may be added, *The Abbots of Tavistock*, by the Rev. D. P. Alford (1891), 137, 8, 337-9.

50. For the following extract from C. R. Rivington's *Records of the Stationers' Co.* (1883) 27, I am indebted to Mr. H. Sotheran, jun.:—"The following return to a precept from the Mayor of the members of the Company not dwelling in the City, supplies information respecting the provincial printers of 1571:—"Thees shal be to Certefye unto your honno^r &c. wo^rshippes that, According to your precepte to us in that behalf derected thees hereunder named are the names of suche as are abidinge in the Countrie from the Lybties of this Ceittie with the places where we suppose they are

now resyaunt not w^tstandinge they do justly paye unto us skott and lott and all other dueties. From o^r hall viij Octobre, 1571.

John Jacques in Somersetshire.
 Rob^t Redbourn in Oxfordshire.
 Alex. Kitson Cont^l Worcester.
 Richard Wallis in Canterbury.
 Henry Rolte in Exeter," &c., &c.

It does not, however, necessarily follow from this that Rolte was a printer, and there is no record that he ever printed anything. Probably he was content to remain a member of the Stationers' Company, on payment of the customary "skott and lott."

51. It was translated into English in 1562, and again in 1564, the latter by Lady Ann Bacon (mother of Lord Chancellor Bacon). It has been reprinted many times.

52. These and other extracts are taken from the memoir of Bp. Jewel, by the Rev. Mandell Creighton, prior to his elevation to the See of Peterborough, contained in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxix. 378-382. No one can gainsay the fair and temperate spirit in which it is written.

52a. They were all Englishmen, who had retired to the Continent when Elizabeth came to the throne—Alanus Copus *alias* Nicolas Harpsfield, Nicolas Sanders, Thomas Stapleton, John Rastall, Thomas Dorman, Thomas Heskyus, and Thomas Harding. The first answered in Latin, the remainder in English. Jewel replied to the last only. Several were answered by other divines. Of the first six, Rastall was probably the leading writer. Two of his works were entitled respectively, *Beware of M. Jewel* (1566), and *Brief view of the false wares packed up in the nameless Apology of the Church of England* (1567). Dr. Henry Cole, when Dean of St. Paul's, had replied to the challenge in 1560; this met with a rejoinder from Jewel, and the controversy ceased.

53. Cranmer answered a work of Gardiner's on the Sacrament in a similar manner.

54. A curious list of the opprobrious terms used against Jewel by Harding will be found after the Preface to the *Defence of the Apology*, ed. of 1611. For a bibliographical list of Dr. Harding's works, vide *D. A.* xxii. 349-351, compiled by the Rev. J. Ingle Dredge. They were all published at Antwerp or Louvain.

55. According to Froude (vii. 347), a similar bull by Pope Pius IV. was withheld at the instigation of Philip II. of Spain.

56. "What war is this? when conquered both are glad,
 And either to have conquered other sad."

(Fuller, *Ch. History*, bk. 10, p. 49.)

According to a statement recorded by Wood (i. 613) it was not William, but Edmund, another brother.

57. In his *Biography of the Members of the S. J.* (1845), 113, Dr. Oliver affirms the conference to be "unfairly reported," but in what manner is not stated. The Rev. H. Foley, in his *Records of the Eng. Province, S. J.*, vii. 338, makes no remark upon it. The letter by John Hart, in the preface to the work of Rainolds, does not favour Dr. Oliver's statement. One of his remarks in it is singular enough to quote: "As for that which he affirmeth in one place that 'I have told him, that my opinion is, the Pope may not depose Princes': indeede I told him so much." This is scarcely reconcilable with the Pope's 'Bull of Excommunication and Deposition' of Elizabeth, published in 1570. Another effect of such a bull is thus pointed out by Dr. Dollinger: "The celebrated bull of Urban II. . . . declares it lawful for any individual to put an excommunicated person to death, provided that the action is undertaken out of genuine zeal for the Church." (*Conversations of Dr. Dollinger*, by Louisa von Kobell; transl. by Katharine Gould (1892), 262.) Taken from a letter of Dr. Dollinger to the Papal Nuncio, dated Oct. 12, 1887.

58. In 1641 appeared a small 4to. pamphlet of pp. 16 with this title, *The Judgement of Doctor Rainoldes touching the Originall of Episcopacy: more largely confirmed out of Antiquity*, by James [Ussher], Archbishop of Armagh.

59. The title of Turner's work—*Maria Stuarta, Regina Scotiae, dotaria Franciae, haeres Angliae et Hybernicae, Martyr Ecclesiae, Innocens a caede Darleana: vindice Oberto Barnestapolio*. Ingoldst. 1588, Cologne 1627. Buchanan's was issued in Latin, French, and Scottish in the same year (1572). The last—*Ane Detection of the Doings of Marie, Quene of Scottis, twiching the Murther of hir Husband*, &c. Cf. Strype's *Annals* (1824), iii. 461-464, 566-7.

60. Dr. Oliver suspected "he was the author of the Latin treatise printed at the end of Sanders's treatise *De Schismate Anglicano*." Cologne; ed. of 1627. (*Hist. of the Catholic Religion*, 424); but the Rev. J. Ingle Dredge reports this to be incorrect.

61. Vide *Collected Works* of Bishop Hall (1808), ix. 77-213. Coffins' treatise was a reply to "An Apologetical Discourse, of the Marriage of Ecclesiastical Persons," by Hall, contained in one of his *Epistles* (*Ibid.* vii. 149-155), written *circ.* 1608. (*Ibid.* ix. 79.)

62. Translated by Dr. Fletcher in 1827, under the title of *My Motives for Renouncing the Protestant Religion*, by Antony de Dominis, D.D., Dean of Windsor. The Archbishop of Spalatro came to England in 1616, and became a Protestant. He returned about 1622 to Rome, and rejoined the Church there. He was imprisoned by the Inquisition, and died a prisoner. After death his body was burnt as that of a heretic. A full account of him is given by Gardiner. (iv. 282-288.) A Latin letter addressed to him will be found in Hall's *Works*, vii. 214-219.

63. The British Museum catalogue contains entries of translations of several works by Philippe de Mornay, Seigneur de Plessis-Marly, but none bearing this title. One, *A Treatise of the Church*, was translated by J. F[eilde], 1580.

64. The Epistle Dedicatory is signed "Rye. Baddeley," and to the following remarks, "Mr. John Mollo" is appended as a marginal note:—"Of him also beeing to earely depriued, it hath no lesse lamented his constrained absence (and perhaps for the same cause) than *Rachael* did her massacred *Innocents*. For alas! this ever well-deseruing Patriot hath now for many yeares beene missing and awanting vnto His . . . he hath done his God better [service] abroad: for whose cause it is now with him as it is, albeit no otherwise than it hath beene with many glorious Martyrs and Confessors in the very same place." All this serves to corroborate the correctness of Mr. Dredge's opinion.

65. The "Fatal Vespers" occurred at the house of the French Ambassador in Blackfriars, where an audience had assembled in an upper room to hear the Jesuit, Robert Drury, preach. The floor gave way, and about 100 persons, including the preacher, were killed. A pamphlet by W. C., giving an account of the occurrence, with the names of 86 who perished, and of 5 who were "inquired after," was published in the same year, and reprinted in Morgan's *Phoenix Britannicus*, 421-431. The number of deaths is stated in the Eltham parish register as 96. (Lyson's *Environs of London*, iv. 410.)

66. In this work he attributes his re-conversion partly to the entreaties of his "aged father . . . whose righteous soule hath been vexed with my infamous deuian." (94.)

67. The lists have been reprinted by the Rev. H. Foley, in his *Records* (i. 671-683), and by him thought to be "on the whole, accurate"; also in Morgan's *Phoenix Britannicus*, i. 432-440. They include: 1. A Catalogue of Books dispersed by Roman Catholic Priests, &c. 2. Names and Addresses of the Booksellers. 3. Names of the Roman Catholic Priests resident in London. 4. A list of the Roman Catholic Physicians resident in London. There were some others (in the *New Shreds*) of names of young women sent to foreign nunneries, and the factors employed for the purpose. It must be remembered that the laws against "Popish Recusants" were very severe at that time.

68. On the authority of Wood (ii. 260), Edw. Gee appears (in error) as the author of the *Steps*, &c., in the bibliographical works of Lowndes and Allibone. He wrote a metrical epitaph on his wife, which Mr. Chanter, by mistake, assigns to John Gee. This epitaph is a very curious one, and terminates thus:

"Henceforth I will no more alight upon a fair green tree,
But as a turtle which hath lost his dear mate I will be."

Alas! for promises recorded thus, he married again, and at his death, in 1618, left a widow "to turtle it after him as he had done before." (Prince, 406.)

69. Although usually deemed a Devonian, Mrs. F. B. Troup, in her "Biographical Notes on Doctor Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter" (*D. A.* xxiii. 171-196), shews good reason for considering him a Yorkshireman. Her article includes a complete list of his works.

70. His vigour was not confined to words. In furtherance of his polemical views he founded the College of Controversy at Chelsea, in 1610. During his lifetime it is reported to have been successful, but fell away at his death. Thus Fuller:

"The modest Colledge blushed to be stronger
Than was its Lord; He dead, it liv'd no longer."
(*Church History*, bk. 18, p. 53.)

71. It was read at a Convocation of the Clergy held on Jan. 15, 1562, and printed, with some emendations by Archbishop Grindal, in Strype's *Annals* (1824) i. 518-525.

72. On the assertion of Izacke (in his catalogue of the Bishops of Exeter), Prince records him "a native of this county." But Fuller, Dr. Oliver, and later authorities affirm he was born in Nottinghamshire.

73. Sermons and small religious treatises were written and published by *John Bury* (1580-1667), born at Tiverton, vicar of Heavitree; *Alex. Grosse* (1596?-1654), a Devonian, preacher at Plympton, and rector of Bridford; *Abraham Jackson* (1589-1646?), a Devonian, and the author of a poem, "Sorrow's lenitive"; *William Sclater*, D.D. (-*circa* 1661), vicar of Collumpton; *Henry Tozer* (1602-1650), born at North Tawton; and *Robert Wolcombe* (*fl.* 1600), a Devonian.

Edw. Kellett, D.D. (-1641). His principal work, *Tricoenivm Christi*, was not published until 1641, probably after his death in that year. Bibliographical list of his works by Rev. J. Ingle Dredge, in *D. A.* xxii. 351-353.

John Barlow (1581-1630). His most important work, *An Exposition of the First and Second Chapters of the latter Epistle of the Apostle Paul to Timothie* (1632) (that of the first chapter had been published in 1625), was published several years after he left Devonshire, although dedicated to "The Mayor of Plymouth."

74. Other authors have derived some pleasure from writing on the same disease, e.g., *The Honour of the Gout: or a rational discourse demonstrating that the Gout is one of the greatest Blessings which can befall mortal Man*, by Philander Misiatrus (1699). Dr. R. Wittie's *Gout-Raptures*, a "Fiction of War among the Stars" (1677, 1681), falls under the same category.

"I was in a fit of the Gout when I first projected it," he writes. To compose 134 4-line verses, then to translate them, first into Latin, then into Greek! an attack of gout would be preferable to most persons.

The following is transcribed from one of the sets of commendatory verses:

"To Doctor Robert Wittie,
Who eas'd his Gout with rhyming,
And tells us all the greetings,
With all the jars among the Stars,
Which happen at their meetings." (91, 2.)

75. *Vide* "Samuel Hieron: A Devonshire Vicar in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.," by Rev. S. G. Harris (*D. A.* xxiv. 77-85), and Bibliography of S. Hieron, by Rev. J. Ingle Dredge (*Ibid.* 488-510).

76. Thomas Hutton, vicar of St. Kew, in Cornwall, was one of his principal opponents. In 1605-6, he published *Answers to the Ministers Reasons for refusal*. He became rector of North Lew and Prebendary of Exeter in 1616.

77. He wrote *A Sorrowful Song for Sinful Souls* on the occasion of "the Strange and Wonderful Shaking, 6 April, 1580" [the date is erroneously stated by Wood as 1586 (ii. 288)], when a great earthquake wave extended throughout England, and, it is stated, caused the great bells of Westminster to ring.

78. His actual birthplace, according to Risdon, was in Uplime parish (*Survey* (1714) ii. 89). List of works by Rev. J. Ingle Dredge in *D. A.* xxiv. 516-521; and of Michael Jermin, *Ibid.* xxi. 529-531.

79. The Rev. Treasurer Hawker wrote a "Sketch of John Prideaux." (*D. A.* ix. 184-187.) "In him," said Prince, "the heroic wits of Jewel, Raynolds, Hooker, his famous countrymen, as if united into one, seem'd to triumph anew." (659.)

Lists of his works will be found in Wood (iii. 267, 8, 73) and Prince. (656, 7.)

80. Hakewill's was not the first treatise or protest against the Spanish match. One had, in the previous year (1620), been addressed to the Duke of Buckingham by Thomas Alured, secretary to Ralph lord Ever, president of Wales (printed in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, i. 170-180), for which he was sent to prison, and is thus referred in the letter (addressed by Rob. Woodward to Mr. Windebank):—"There is one Mr. Aldred (sometimes Secretary to the Lord L'vres) committed for wryting to my Lord of Buckingham a debortative letter against this match with Spayn." The popular anti-Spanish feeling was shown in a remarkable manner on the occasion of the Prince's return from Spain in 1623, described by Gardiner. (v. 128, 9.)

81. Its popularity is further evidenced by the circumstance, that the original edition was translated in Holland into Latin in 1632, and retranslated into English in 1657. Its ability was recognised at Cambridge in being selected as the thesis for philosophical disputation in 1628. It received the greatest praise from Dugald Stewart.

It is referred to by Pepys, who, when in trouble (Feb. 3, 1667), "read a little in Hakewell's Apology, and did satisfy myself mighty fair in the truth of the saying that the world do not grow old at all, but is in as good condition in all respects as ever it was as to nature." (Ed. Bright, iv. 225.)

82. The passage will be found in the explanation of the allegorical frontispiece: "The Creator . . . hath so ordained, that the Elements, of which all sub-lunary bodies are composed, doe so beget one the other, and againe so begotten each from other; that while they seem to dye, they become immortall. For as *Earth* is resolved into *Water*, the *Water* rarefied into *Ayre*, and the *Ayre* into *Fire*, in the way of their ascension; so in their descending down-ward, by a mutuall Compensation, the *Fire* becommeth *Ayre*, the *Ayre* thickneth into *Water*, and the *Water* againe into *Earth*." (edit. of 1635.)

83. Quoted from Hill's ed. of Boswell's work (i. 219), in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxiv. 7. A complete list of his works by the Rev. J. Ingle Dredge is in *D. A.* xxii. 340-347. A small 4to. pamphlet of 88 pages, "translated out of the French by G. H.", entitled *Anti-Coton* (1611), is attributed to Hakewill by some writers, but is not included in the list of the former.

84. These were *Scutum Regium adversus omnes Regicidas et Regicidarum Patronos, &c.* (1612), and *Comparison between the Days of Purim and that of Powder Treason* (1626).

85. In the *Annales of England* (1630) 233, by F. Godwin, at first Sub-dean of Exeter, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, then of Hereford, published in Latin in 1616, afterwards in English, the translation by Morgan Godwin, son of the author.

86. The following is the full title: "*Fylforde et Fylfordæ. A Sermon preached at Exeter, in the Cathedrall Church, the sixth day of August commonly called Jesus day 1594. in memoriall of the Cities deliuerance in the daies of King Edward the sixt. Wherein is intreated of the goodness of God toward Man, and of the ingratitude of Man toward God.*" London 1595." There are two sets of dedicatory verses in Latin, addressed respectively to Thomas Fulford and to his wife. The latter was the daughter of Richard Bamfield, of Poltimore.

87. The text of the "Consecration Act of St. Bartholomew's Cemetery" is given in Dr. Oliver's *Hist. of Exeter* (1821) lxlviix-ix. Cf. also 89.

88. Cf. Pettigrew *On Medical Superstitions* (1844) 130, 1.

89. In anticipation of fault-finding, there is a curious note from "the Printer to the Courteous Reader" (ed. 1635), in which he remarks, "thou knowest that absolute perfection is not to be found in *Angels*, and therefore much lesse to be expected or hoped for in men, who for the most part are wholly composed of *Errours*."

90. The following remarks on Reynolds' works are from Sir E. Brydges' *Restituta* iv. 161: *God's Revenge*, &c., "was probably read, not without much moral benefit, in butlers' pantries and in servants' halls." *The Flower of Fidelitie* "seems to have been designed more for a parlour guest, being written in apparent imitation of the amatorious and chivalrous romances, but with a verbosity and pomposity of language, added to an unnatural inflation and artificial sentimentality, that are sometimes ludicrously absurd."

91. He was on the point of becoming a Devon resident in 1601, on being offered the mastership of Blundell's School, at Tiverton, and which he was about to accept, when the living of Halstead, in Suffolk, was bestowed upon him.

92. It deserves to be reprinted in a separate volume. It is not a little remarkable that in one published in 1796, of the *Selected Beauties* of Hall's writings, and containing 366 closely-printed pages, there is not a single extract from these *Meditations*.

93. *Smectymnus*: formed from the initials of the names of the five Puritan Divines who took part in the controversy: Stephen Marshall, Edward Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurston. Cf. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, iv. (1738) 162, 3; Gardiner, ix. 390.

94. The *Collected Works* of Bishop Hall were published in 1808, and extend to ten very closely-printed, thick, octavo volumes.

95. *Life in Works* (1793), i. 75. The character accorded by the poet Cowper to Newton, Boyle, and Locke, is equally applicable to Hooker—

"Patient of contradiction as a child,
Affable, humble, diffident, and mild."

(*Progress of Error*.)

The term "judicious," applied to him first in his epitaph, is equally applicable to him in all things, perhaps, excepting his marriage, in which he must be classed with Socrates and Sir Thomas More. His equableness of temper may be illustrated by a literary anecdote related of him by his biographer, Izaak Walton. Having been informed his house was robbed, "His question was, 'Are my books and written papers safe?' And being answered that they were, his reply was, 'Then it matters not, for no other loss can trouble me.'" (*Life in Works* (1793), i. 89.)

96. Cf. Hallam, *Constit. Hist. of Eng.* (1850), i. 214-223, for general description of Hooker's work, and its influence upon Locke. (Also *Lit. Hist.* (1873), 445-7.) Its effect on the Church is pointed out by Green. (*Hist.* iii. 30-2.) Buckle (*Civil. in Eng.* i. 312-16) comments at length upon the difference between his writings and those of Jewel in the defence of their Church: "Jewel inculcates the importance of faith; Hooker insists upon the exercise of reason."

97. A tolerably complete list is given by Mr. J. R. Chanter in his article, "The Early Poetry and Poets of Devonshire," in *D. A.* vi. 501-546.

98. *N. Carpenter*: Example of poetry at end of his *Geography Delineated* (1625). *J. Downe*: In the last 28 pages of the portion of his *Works* printed in 1635, and consisting principally of hymns and a translation of the "Institution for Children," by M. A. Muretus. *W. Kempe*: An illustration given by the Rev. J. I. Dredge in *D. A.* xxiv. 511.

99. This is the short title given in the *Registers of the Stationers Company* (ed. Arber, i. 101); the original one is very long. The work is printed *in extenso* in the *English Garner* (iv. 143-172) of Prof. Arber; and "Never before," exclaims he, "did such doggerel verse carry so fearful a story as this." The Address of "the Book to the Reader" commences thus:

"Peruse with patience, I thee pray!
My simple style, and metre base."

"Is thought to have been useful" to John Fox in his compilation of the *Acts and Monuments*. Other works of Brice are recorded in the Stationers' Registers, but nothing more is known of them.

100. The sonnet had been employed by Petrarch in the 14th century. In the 16th there was a great revival of his poetry in Italy, and from this period dates the transference of the sonnet to England. Petrarch was in fashion for a time, hence the publication by John Cawood, about 1565, of "*The tryumphes of Fraunces Petrarche, translated out of Italian* into English, by Henrye Parker, Knyght, Lorde Morley." The translation had been made in 1554. This Lord Morley was not a member of the present family bearing that name, nor was he a Devonian, so that at first sight the work should receive no notice here. It is, however, of much local interest, from having been reprinted in 1887 for the Roxburghe Club, with a preface, notes, &c., by the late Earl of Iddesleigh, probably his last literary work.

101. Raleigh was possibly not the first, but the only, probable name of one who preceded him is that of SIR RICH. EDGECUMBE (1499-1562), the builder of Mount Edgecumbe, who, according to Horace Walpole (*Royal and Noble Authors* (1798), i. 461), "left

several copies of verses; one of the worst . . . was printed in 1752." Probably he wrote some of the anonymous pieces in Tottel's *Miscellany*.

It is singular that Drake and Hawkins have been included in the list of Devon poets, on the strength of their names being subjoined to metrical lines of commendation (a sonnet is assigned to Drake), printed in George Peckham's *A true Reporte of the late discoveries . . . of the New-found Landes by . . . Sir Humfrey Gilbert* (1583). Collier has reprinted them in his *Bibliog. Catalogue*, ii. 141, 2. It is very doubtful whether either of those naval heroes wrote the lines attributed to them.

102. This form of simile was a favourite one with Raleigh, and enables us to corroborate the general opinion, although not coincided in by the Rev. J. Hannah (*Courtly Poets* (1870) 76), that the poetical piece, entitled "No Pleasure without Pain," was also by him. It contains these lines :

"Sweet were the joys that both might like and last.

That sugared soue must saunce the bitter sweet."

103. Several of his poems contain passages relating to the country. The following beautiful pastoral simile is in "The Silent Lover": "Passions are likened best to floods and streams: The shallow murmur, but the deep are dumb."

104. The only MS. of poetry of his, believed to be in his own handwriting, is preserved in the library of Hatfield House.

105. The Rev. J. Hannah (*Op. cit.* 56, 57) has included among Raleigh's writings an epitaph on the Earl of Leicester, and one on the Earl of Salisbury, both scurrilous, and the latter very coarse. There is not only no evidence that Raleigh wrote either, but that on Lord Salisbury was certainly not by him. Vide *D. A.* xix. 412.

106. In his *Life of Spenser*, i. 155, with this addition, "Whoso reads it finds a hush of awe as in a cathedral come over him. It needs no setting to music. It sets itself to stateliest, divinest, most searching music." Hannah notes, "the highest merit which it has received is the imitation of Milton :

" 'Methought I saw my late espoused saint ;' "

and points out that Wordsworth and other writers sought to imitate it. (*Op. cit.* 216.)

107. Printed by Mr. Bullen, in his *Speculum Amantis* (1889), 76-7, from *Harl. MS.*, 6917. The poem consists of six 6-line stanzas, the last of which runs thus :

"Oh cruel Time, which takes in trust,
Our youth, our joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust ;
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days."

The "epitaph" is similar to this, except in commencing "Even such is Time," and the addition of this couplet:

"But from this grave, this earth, this dust
The Lord shall raise me up, I trust."

The hope of resurrection expressed in this forms a striking contrast to the preceding lines.

It is recorded that on the night before his execution, in 1650, the Marquis of Montrose remembered Raleigh's poem, as he inscribed some verses on the wall of his cell, and having this termination:

"In hopeful thou 'lt recover once my dust,
And confident thou 'lt raise me with the just."
(Rev. J. Hannah, *Op. cit.* 207.)

108. *Collected Works* of Spenser, by Dr. Grosart, iv. 39, 42.

109. Under the title of "The 21st and last Book of the Ocean, to Cynthia," Dr. Hannah (*Op. cit.* 32-51) was the first to print this fragment; but Mr. E. Gosse was the first to show that it was but a small portion of Raleigh's magnum opus, and which probably extended originally to about 15,000 lines. This he did in the *Athenæum* of Jan. 2 and 9, 1886, and afterwards in his *Life of Raleigh*, 45-7.

110. Examples of his poetry will be found in Ellis's *Specimens of the Early Eng. Poets* (1811), ii. 208-214. A spirited war song of his is given at length in G. Saintsbury's *Elizabethan Literature*, 129.

111. Quoted from Malone's MSS. in the Bodl. Library, by E. F. Rimbault, in *N. & Q.* 1st S. i. 146, 7, where the song is entitled "A Song in ye praise of Melancholy." Another cited by the latter, "A Song against Melancholy," is stated by him as probably not having been printed, but it will be found in Ellis's work (*Op. cit.* iii. 173) as "extracted from a miscellany called *Wit restored*," 1658. Cf. Wood, iii. 152, 3.

112. The MS. of the 3rd book is preserved in the Library of Salisbury, where it was found by Beriah Botfield, and noticed by him in his *Cathedral Libraries*. Edited by T. Crofton Croker, it was first printed by the Percy Society in 1852. It will be found in the *Collected Works* of W. Browne, ed. by W. C. Hazlitt. (*Roxb. Lib.* ii. 123-163.)

113. In "A few words about Dartmoor" (*Chambers' Journal* (1878), 439, 40), the writer makes the following curious statement: "Lidford, where Judge Jefferys held his bloody assizes, that are commemorated in the lines, 'I've oftentimes heard of Lidford law,' &c. Browne died before Jefferys was born, and though the latter held one of his terrible Courts at Exeter, there is no record of one at Lidford."

114. Mr. Pengelly (*D. A.* xix. 227-230) has fully stated all the facts bearing upon the authorship. In Osborne's *Traditional Memoryes* (1658) the epitaph contains some variations from the usual form, with the addition of six lines, believed to have been added by Lord Pembroke. Gifford includes the former in the *Works* of Ben Jonson (1815, vii. 324, 5), and remarks of it, "The exquisite beauty of this little piece (the most perfect of its kind)," &c.

115. A copy of *Britannia's Pastorals*, preserved in the Huth Library, is recorded in the *Catalogue* (i. 230) as "of special interest, by having on the margin copious MS. notes, which are believed to be in the autograph of John Milton." These marginalia are printed *in extenso*, with notes by Hazlitt. (*Op. cit.* i. xxi.-xxiv.)

116. His youthful muse is thus alluded to by an anonymous writer :

"Panns pastoral *Brown*, whose infant Muse did squeak
At eighteen yeares, better than others speak."
(*Choice Drollery* (1656), ed. by Rev. J. W. Ebsworth (1876), 6.)

117. The piece will be found in Browne's *Works*, by Hazlitt, i. 163, and in B. Jonson's *Works* (1870), viii. 331, where it is headed, "To my truly beloved Friend, master Browne: on his Pastorals." Southey, when visiting the Church of Ottery St. Mary, "expressed his opinion that the beautiful epitaphs in St. Stephen's Chapel, commencing with 'If wealth, wit, beauty,' and 'Under this monument,' &c., were written by Browne." (*Ch. of Ottery St. Mary*, by Rev. S. W. Cornish, D.D. (1869), 34.)

118. In Dr. Grosart's edition of Herrick's *Works* (1876), there is a curious error in his explanation of the word "wakes," as "a watch or vigil, ordinarily with a corpse at night," whereas Herrick evidently employed the term for the dedication feast of a church, and to which he alludes in his short poem entitled "The Wake."

"Tarts and custards, creams and cakes,
Are the junkets still at wakes."

119. Four of his poems have Jonson's name connected with them. Here is an example, headed "A Bacchanalian verse":

"Fill me a mighty bowl
Up to the brim,
That I may drink
Unto my Jonson's soul."

120. Wood affirms "he was much beloved by the gentry in those parts for his florid and witty discourse." (iii. 250.)

121. In the interesting paper of Mr. F. H. Colson, entitled "Herrick in Devonshire" (*D. A.* xxiv. 70-75), there is a suggestion

that the *Hesperides* was rather the work of this poet before his Devon residence, and his *Noble Numbers* when at Dean Prior, but the evidence yielded by the poems in the former scarcely admits of this explanation. The best edition of Herrick's Works is that edited by A. Pollard, with a preface by A. C. Swinburne (1891), and is the one from which the quotations in this Address have been taken. It has the great advantage of the Epigrams and coarse pieces generally, being relegated to an Appendix. Cf. "Robert Herrick," by E. W. Gosse, in *Cornhill Mag.*, xxxii. (1875) 176-191.

122. *Gorbudoc*, at first known as *The Tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex*, was written by T. Sackville and T. Norton, and was "the first play in the English language written in blank-verse." (Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet.*, ii. 485.) It had been preceded by the English comedies, *Ralph Roister Doister*, and *Gammer Gurton's Needle*.

123. Wood appears to be the sole authority for this. Collier asserted him to be the son of Stephen Peele, a book-selling ballad writer" (*Bibl. Cat.* ii. 145); but Mr. A. H. Bullen states, "his father, James Peele, was Clerk of Christ's Hospital." (*Works of G. Peele* (1888), i. xiii.) His birthplace is open to much doubt.

124. It is termed *ye device of the Pageant borne before the Righte honorable Martyn Calthrop lorde maiour of the Cytie of London the 29th daie of October 1588*. (Ed. Arber, ii. 504.)

125. "The resemblance between this play and Shakespeare's 'Taming the Shrew,' is very close." (*Brit Mus. Cat.* iii. 1477.) The title of the seventh play, *The Turkish Mahomet, and Hyren the Fair Greek*, is recorded in the *Merry Jests*. A cumbrous one, entitled *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, generally attributed to him, is believed by Mr. Bullen to have been written by another author.

126. Wood (i. 688) has made three plays out of this one. Of that relating to Queen Elinor he states, "this and a ballad of the same subject are now usually sold by ballad singers and ballad-mongers." Dyce (*Peele's Works*, 374, 5) quotes the ballad at length, under the title of "A Warning Piece to England against Pride and Wickedness." Whether the play preceded the ballad is unknown.

127. Sir Thomas, "commonly called the lusty Stukely," was 3rd son of Sir Hugh Stukely of Afton, and a younger brother of Sir Lewis, or "Judas" Stukely. (Cf. "Of Afton and the family of Stukely" in Westcote's *Devon*, 270-273.) His history formed the subject of another drama, "*The Famous Historye [in verse] of the life and death of Captaine J. S. . . . as it hath been Acted*." London, 1605. (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*) Also of several ballads and chap-book histories.

128. The line "Feed and be fat, my fair Calipolis," in Shakespeare's *Henry IV.* pt. 2, act 2, sc. 4, was evidently an allusion to, and in ridicule of, a passage in Peele's play, in which Munley Mahamet commences with a vile pun :

"This flesh I forcèd from a lioness,
Meat of a princess, for a princess meet :
Feed, then, and faint not, fair Calipolis ;
Feed and be fat, that we may meet the foe
With strength and terror, to revenge our wrong."
Battle of Alcazar, act ii. sc. 3.)

129. Warton (iv. 153) mentions several Scriptural plays and interludes of the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, but none later than that of Peele. *The History of Job*, written by Greene, but never printed, is stated to be one that was burnt by Mr. Warburton's servant.

130. Preserved in Egerton MS., 1994. An account of the play, with many extracts from it, by the Rev. D. P. Alford, will be found in *D. A.* xxiv. 431-440.

131. There is an imperfect copy of it in the British Museum. The only perfect one known is in the possession of Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, who has given an account of it in *D. A.* xi. 262-275. It is reprinted, with the spelling modernized, in Arber's *English Garner*, i. 621-643 ; and a description of it is in Collier's *Bibliog. Catalogue*, ii. 143, 4, where the verses in commendation of the work, and signed J. D., are stated to have been written by John Davies, of Hereford. He is one of the "Four Tavistock Worthies" commemorated by the Rev. D. P. Alford in *D. A.* xxi. 145-7. Cf. Mrs. Bray's *Tamar and Tavy* (1879), ii. 241.

132. S. R. Gardiner, viii. 150. According to the *Biog. Dramat.* (1812), iii. 241, 2, "Some grave persons, however, were scandalized at a stage being erected in the college, and the students performing the parts of players thereon ; and a book soon after issued from the press, entitled, 'The Overthrow of Stage Plays.'" Clearly an anachronism, as *The Overthrow*, &c., was published in 1599, whereas Strode's play was not performed until 1636.

133. A bibliographical list of his writings, by the Rev. J. Inglo Dredge, will be found in *D. A.* xxi. 533-537.

134. Known to his contemporaries as Jack Ford. The title page of his works often bore his anagram, "Fide Honor" (= John Forde), in lieu of his name.

135. The *Line of Life*, long lost sight of, was regarded by Gifford as a play. It was, with *Honor Triumphant*, reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1843. The former has a curious hiatus. The missing portion, discovered in Lansdowne MS., 350, No. 4, will be found in an article on the work in *W. A.* viii. 49-52.

136. The four burnt were: *Beauty in a Trance*, *The London Merchant*, *The Royal Combat*, and *Ill Beginning has a Good End*. The first named, a tragedy, and entered in the Stationers' Register in 1653; the remainder, comedies, and entered in 1660. An account of the circumstances that led to the destruction of these and other plays, 59 in all, of which 14 were Massinger's, will be found in Lansdowne MS., 807, headed, "A Volume formerly belonging to John Warburton, Esq., Somerset Herald," &c. The five, of which Ford was part author, were *The Sun's Darling* (1656), "A Moral Masque"; two unpublished, but produced in 1624, *The Fairy Knight* and *The Bristowe Merchant*—all three with Dekker; *the Witch of Edmonton* (1658), "a known true story," with Rowley, Dekker, and others; and *A late Murther of the Sonn upon the Mother*, produced in 1624, and unpublished, in conjunction with Webster.

137. This play was acted in the same week as Ben Jonson's *New Inn*, and "Ford's play was received with great applause, while Ben's met with general disapprobation." Ben "charged him with having stolen *The Lover's Melancholy* from Shakespeare's papers." It resulted in a paper war, one pamphlet having the title, *Old Ben's Light Heart made Heavy by young John's Melancholy Lover*. (*Biog. Dram.*, ii. 392.) In his edition of Jonson's works Gifford gives a different account of the transaction. (v. 296.)

138. Evidently founded on fact, as in the prologue we read:

"What may be here thought Fiction, when time's youth
Wanted some riper years, was known a Truth."

139. "It was reprinted in 1714, when the movements of the Pretender's adherents in Scotland were attracting attention" (A. H. Bullen, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*), and was acted at Goodman's Fields' Theatre in 1745.

140. His character is pithily described in the well-known couplet in *Choice Drollery* (1656).

"Deep in a dump John Ford alone was got
With folded armes and melancholly hat."

141. An article entitled "John Ford, Dramatist," by R. Dymond and the Rev. Treas. Hawker, appeared in *D. A.* viii. 420-425. Several editions of his works have been published; one by H. Weber in 1811 raised a storm of adverse criticism. The one used for this article is that of W. Gifford, with additions by the Rev. A. Dyce, 3 vols., 1869.

142. A list of works for and against is given by Collier in his *Bibliog. Cat.* ii. 174. *The English Drama and Stage under the Tudor and Stuart Princes*, ed. by W. C. Hazlitt (*Roxb. Lib.* 1869), is the most complete work on the subject.

143. The full title is here given:—*Th' overthrow of Stage-playes, By the way of controversie betwixt D. Gager and D. Rainoldes, wherein all the reasons that can be made for them are notably refuted; the obiections aunswered, and the case so cleared and resolved, as that the iudgement of any man, that is not froward and perverse, may easilie be satisfied. Wherein is manifestly proved, that it is not onely vnlawfull to bee an Actor, but a beholder of those vanities. Wherevnto are added also and annexed in th' end, certeine latine Letters betwixt the sayed Maister Rainoldes, and D. Gentiles, Reader of the Civill Law in Oxford, concerning the same matter.* 1599.

144. Some attempts were made, but of a feeble character, to control the license of dramatic writers, *e.g.* on the last leaf of a MS. vol., recorded by A. H. Bullen in his *Collect. of Old Plays*, ii. 432, is this entry:

"This play called y^e Seamans honest Wife, all y^e Oaths left out in y^e action as they are croste in y^e booke and all other Reformation strictly observed, may bee acted, not otherwise.

"This 27th June, 1633

"Henry Herbert."

Sir H. Herbert was Master of the Revels in the Reigns of Charles I. and II.

145. The ballads are given at length in *Roxburghe Ballads* (Ballad Soc.) i. 553–563.

Extended articles on the subject will be found in *W. A.* ix. 10, 35–37, 62.

146. The following is a verse from a ballad entitled "The penitent Traytor: the humble petition of a Devonshire gentleman, who was condemned for treason, and executed for the same, anno 1641":—

"How could I bless thee, couldst thou take away
My life and infamy both in one day?
But this in ballads will survive I knew,
Sung to that preaching tune, Fortune my foe."

Quoted in Chappell's *Pop. Music of the Olden Time*, i. 162, 3, where the music is also given.

147. None of these ballads have descended to us. The following titles are recorded in the Stationers Co. Registers, in which the Raleigh ones find no place:—

Aug. 28, 1605. A ballet vppon the Lamentable Murthers of Sir John ffytz executed vppon himself and others.

Sept. 13, 1605. Sir John Fitz his ghost &c.

Aug. 14, 1612. A ballad of the burning of Tyverton the 5 of August 1612. (Ed. Arber, iii. 299, 300, 422.)

These were in addition to prose versions.

Those relating to Raleigh are mentioned in a letter from Chamberlain to Carlton, of Nov. 21, 1618:—"We are so full still of S^r Walter Raleigh [executed Oct. 29, 1618], that almost every day brings forth somewhat in this kind, besides divers ballets wherof some are called in, and the rest such poore stuffe as are not worth the ouer-looking." (*State Papers Dom.* 1611-18, vol. ciii., sec. 102.)

148. For a bibliographical list of his writings, by the Rev. J. Ingle Dredge, vide *D. A.* xxiv. 521-526.

149. The following extracts from Cowell's *Interpreter* contain some of the objectionable passages:

"*King.* . . . hee is above the law by his absolute power. . . . And though at his coronation he take an Oath, not to alter the lawes of the land, yet this oath notwithstanding he may alter, or suspend any particular law that seemeth hurtfull to the publique Estate. . . .

"*Parliament.* . . . Either the King is above the Parliament, that is the positive lawes of his Kingdome, or else that hee is not an absolute King . . . to binde the Prince to or by these lawes, were repugnant to the nature and constitutions of an absolute monarchy. . . .

"*Prerogative* of the King is that especiall power . . . that the King hath in any kinde over and above other persons, and above the ordinarie course of the common law, in the right of his crown."

150. *Articuli Cleri.* Vide *Biog. Brit.* (sub. "Cowell"), 1495; Gardiner, ii. 36; Hook's *Abps. of Canterbury*, x. (1875) 227.

151. Much information on the subject is contained in the same volume of Winwood's work, *e.g.*: "March 15, 1609-10. Cowell's Booke . . . having been . . . examined before His Majesty . . . it hath ben found therein repugnant to the fundamentall Lawes of the Realm: And therefore the King hath promised that it shall be suppressed." (131.)

152. There is a list of his works in Wood, iii. 426-429; also in Prince's *Worthies*, 302, 3; and in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xv. 158.

153. Watt (*Bibl. Brit.*) records editions of 1602 and 1603, but such are unknown. A mistake probably caused by accepting the years when the "Readings" were delivered at "New-Inne" as those of publication.

154. In 1652 it was published with a very long title, commencing *Honors pedigree, or the severall fountaines of Gentry.*

155. Of these treatises, the first is reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, and the third forms the subject of a paper by J. B. Davidson, entitled "Hoker's Journal of the House of Commons in 1571," in *D. A.* xi. 442-492.

156. The several tracts forming the *Opinions* are included in Harl. MS. 305, with the names of their respective authors, "who used to meet together" for the purpose of discussing the subject.

157. Vide the *Literary History of Barnstaple*, by J. R. Chanter, 8, 73.

158. *The Poetaster*, first acted in 1601 and printed in the following year, did not contain a dedication to R. Martin. The following one first appeared in the edition of 1616: "To the Virtuous, and my Worthy Friend, Mr. Richard Martin. Sir,—A thankful man owes a courtesy ever; the unthankful but when he needs it. To make mine own mark appear, and shew by which of these seals I am known, I send you this piece of what may live of mine; for whose innocence, as for the author's, you were once a noble and timely undertaker to the greatest justice of this kingdom. Enjoy now the delight of your goodness, which is to see that prosper you preserved, and posterity to owe the reading of that, without offence to your name, which so much ignorance and malice of the times then conspired to have suppress.—Your true lover,
BEN JONSON."

(*Works*, by Gifford, ii. 365–6.) Gifford deemed it probable that Martin had saved Jonson from some action-at-law, as "it appears from the Apologetical Dialogue subjoined to this drama that Jonson was accused of having reflected in it on the professions of law and arms." (*Ibid.* 365.)

159. Gardiner (ii. 272) affirms that the work was suppressed by James, and this opinion is held by Edm. Gosse (*Raleigh*, 184); but Edwards (*Op. cit.* i. 552–554) has shewn that Raleigh's *History of the World* was the work that James attempted unsuccessfully to suppress. There is no reason to believe that the *Prerogative* was attempted to be printed until 1628.

160. Editions were published simultaneously, bearing the imprints of Midelburge, Hamburg, and London, but were all produced from the same press. The type, paper, printing, &c., are similar to the works of Thos. Scott, author of *Vox Populi*, that were printed at Utrecht.

161. A MS. copy of Raleigh's work "transcribed in 58 folios, is among the papers at Port Eliot, with passages marked by Sir John." (J. Forster's *Life of Eliot*, i. 563).

162. Whether he ever wrote one on a religious subject is questionable. *A Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant*, printed in the *Abridgment of his History of the World* (1700, 1702) 27–70, has been attributed to him, but is open to much doubt.

163. According to D. Lloyd "five hours he slept, four he read, two he discussed, allowing the rest to his business and his neces-

sities." (*State Worthies* (1670) 671.) Aubrey states, "he studied most in his sea-voyages, where he carried always a trunk of bookes along with him, and had nothing to divert him." (*Letters, &c.* (1813) ii. 513.) A bibliographical list of his works appeared in *W. A.* v. (1885, 6).

164. The following is a transcript of Milton's Address :

"To the Reader.—Having had the Manuscript of this Treatise, Written by Sir Walter Raleigh, many years in my hands, and finding it lately by chance among other Books and Papers, upon reading thereof, I thought it a kind of injury to withhold longer the work of so eminent an author from the Publick ; it being both answerable in Stile to other Works of his already Extant, as far as the subject would permit, and given me for a true Copy by a Learned Man at his Death, who had Collected several such peices.
"John Milton."

165. Printed in *Works of Raleigh* (1829) viii. 223–252. Gardiner (*Op. cit.* ii. 156, 7) is of opinion the second was written circ. September, 1612, at the time of the proposal for the Prince to wed a French Princess, and that therefore the date of "9 Jacobi" is wrong; but it is difficult to perceive how he can be correct, as both marriages were proposed at one time. Raleigh in his first treatise alludes to the overture "of a cross marriage" between the Prince and the Princess of Savoy; and in the second he condemned the marriage, one of his arguments being "that Savoy and Spain are inseparable." He favoured a French alliance, as "by holding France, we hold the Low Countries." Cf. a letter from the Earl of Salisbury in Winwood's *Memoriuls*, iii. 271, 2.

166. Oldys gives reasons for assigning it to John Keymer, the author of *Observations upon the Dutch Fishery*, written circ. 1601 (*Op. cit.* i. 441, 2). So does Adolf Buff, of Augsburg, in "Who is the author of the Tract entitled 'Some Observations Touching Trade,' &c.," published in *Englische Studien* (1873), Band i. 187–212.

167. First printed in *Judicious and Select Essayes*, in 1650.

168. First published in 1702 by his grandson, Phillip Raleigh (son of Sir Walter's brother Carew), as one of *Three Discourses, &c.*

169. Bibliographical list by Rev. J. Ingle Dredge, in *D. A.* xxiv. 510, 1.

170. It was printed for the first time in *Archæologia*, xxi. (1827), 508–520, by Sir H. Ellis (who dates it 1570; but Mr. C. H. Coote (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*) assigns it with greater probability to 1572, after Gilbert's return from the Netherlands); and reprinted in Early Eng. Text Soc., extra series, vol. 8, 1869, with introduction and notes by Dr. F. J. Furnivall. The MS. is preserved in the Lansdowne Collection, 98, No. 1.

171. A similar suggestion had been made by Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1561, under this title: "Articles devised for the bringing up in vertue and learning of the Queenes Majesties Wardes, being heires male, and whose landes, descending in possession and coming to the Queenes Majestie shall amount to the cleere value of C markes, or above." Attention was first drawn to it by J. P. Collier, in an article "On Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper," in *Archæologia*, xxxvi. 339-348.

172. Vide "The Founders of Wadham," in *Memorials of the West*, by W. H. H. Rogers (1888), 147-172; and *Wadham College, Oxford*, by T. G. Jackson (1893), 6-51.

173. Vide *Blundelliana*, by Mr. H. M. Rankilor, in *D. A.* xxiii. 410-419.

174. There is another reprint of the *Autobiography* in *Harleian Miscellany* (1810), vi. 51-57. The original MS. is preserved in the Bodleian Library. A memoir of Sir T. Bodley, by Sir John Bowring, is contained in *D. A.* v. 330-343. The letters to Dr. James being undated, detracts much from their value.

175. The full story of its original conception and continued progress to the present time, is told in the Rev. W. D. Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian Library* (1868, 1890.) The first formal letter on the subject was sent by Sir T. Bodley to the Vice-Chancellor on Feb. 23rd, 1597-8.

176. In Winwood's *Memorials*, ii., there are several entries relating to the troubles experienced by English traders in Spain.

177. "Think upon his activity in writing to almost every distinguished character of the realm: soliciting, urging, arguing, entreating for their support towards his magnificent establishment." (Dibdin's *Bibliomania* (1876), 272, 3.)

According to lists given by Dr. Dibdin, and the Rev. W. D. Macray, Devonshire contributed the following: Sir W. Raleigh, £50; George Raleigh (Exeter Coll.), 40s.; Sir H. Rolle, £3 6s. 8d.; John Sprot, £5; John Barcham, Dr. J. Rainolds, and Will. Hakewill, printed books, the last named an Italian MS. in addition; W. Cotton, Bp. of Exeter, 23 MSS.; Dr. Lawrence Bodley, £20, and 37 "very fair and new bought books in folio"; Sir John Fortescue, Knt., 47 volumes, "of which there are 5 Greek MSS. of singular worth."

178. A list of these books appears in Dr. Oliver's *Bps. of Exeter*, 376-378. Wood (*Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford*, lib. lxxvii., p. 51) gives the number as 132, but this refers to treatises, and not to MSS.

179. Mr. Warren gives reasons for believing that there was originally a companion MS. that did not accompany it to the Bodleian Library. It was thought to have been in the possession of the Vicar of Totnes in 1709. (*Op. cit.* xxviii.) This was the

Rev. R. Burscough, whose bibliography, by the Rev. J. Iugle Dredge, is printed in *W. A.* iv. 53, 4.

180. A list of Leofric's Library will be found in *The Anglo-Saxon Episcopate of Cornwall*, by E. H. Pedler, in Anglo-Saxon and English, 136-140; and in F. S. Merryweather's *Bibliomania*, 148-150. Other works, formerly belonging to Exeter Cathedral, are recorded by Mr. Macray. (*Op. cit.* 28, 442, 494.)

181. As the income of the See was very small, he was permitted to retain his office of sub-dean, probably until the appointment of his successor on Feb. 18th, 1602-3.

182. An interesting popular account of the fable will be found under the heading of "Antichrist and Pope Joan," in *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould (1868), 1st series, 161-189. Also in *Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages* (transl.) by Dr. Dollinger (1871), 3-67.

183. "frauncys Godwyn Docter of Divinitie and sub-deane of this Church he hath writen to his greate payne and Charges a catologie of all the bishoppes in this land shortly to be put in prynte." (J. Hooker in Harl. MS., 5827.) Written about the year 1600.

184. Vide Lord Clermont's *Hist. of the Family of Fortescue* (1880), 148, 9, 175-179, the latter reference being to the Memoirs of Lord Chichester, who died in 1625. He was second son of Sir John Chichester, of Raleigh, near Barnstaple; and Sir Faithful Fortescue, the writer of the Memoir, was his nephew.

185. This was the second on the subject, and is stated to have been written by Dr. Sharpe. Stucley's first "Appologie writte with his owne hand" is preserved in Ashmol. MS., 830, 29; and was printed for the first time in the *Works* of Raleigh (1829), viii. 783-785.

186. The *Declaration* is attributed wholly to Bacon by Edwards (*Life of Raleigh*, i. 655), whom he accuses of having falsified a date in it. But a letter from Bacon to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated Nov. 22, 1618, commences thus: "We have put the Declaration touching Raleigh to the press with his Majesty's additions, which were very material, and fit to proceed from his Majesty." Mr. Spedding has the following note on this: "There are no marks in the original to distinguish these additions, but I suspect them to be the opening and the concluding paragraph." (*Letters and Life of Lord Bacon*, vi. 378.)

187. *Works of W. Browne* (1869), ii. 369. Wood (ii. 366) adds, "but whether ever published, having been all or mostly written, as 't was said, I know not." Cf. "Adversaria" in *Memoir of W. Oldys*, by W. T. Thoms (1862), 39. There is no foundation for the assertion that Browne even contemplated such a work.

188. Of his native county, Devonshire, Carpenter writes in enthusiastic terms; and of her Worthies, to whom he devotes several pages (260-265), he asks, "Wherein can any Province of Great Brittain challenge precedency before vs?" Writing, apparently, in reply to some adverse criticisms on the rustic character of her inhabitants, he states: "I will demonstrate that our mountainous Provinces of Devon and Cornwall have not deserved so ill, as to be so sharply censured for Blockishnesse or Incivility. . . . But a rude dialect being more indebted to Custome then Nature is a small argument of a blockish disposition: and a homely outside may shroud more wit then the silke-wormes industrie." (260-265.) Col. W. F. Prideaux, in *W. A.* vii. 59-61, has quoted this portion of Carpenter's work at length.

189. The earlier voyages are fully described in Bourne's *English Merchants* (1866), i. chapters 2 to 9.

190. Stubbs, *Const. History* (1880), i. 626. A copy of "the Bull or Donation" of Alex. VI., in Latin and English, is printed in Prof. Arber's *The First Three English books on America* (1885), 201-203. It assigns to the Spaniards "al the firme landes and Ilandes found or to be found . . . toward the West and South, drawyng a line from the pole Artike to the pole Antartike. . . . Conteyninge in this donation, what so euer firme landes are . . . founde . . . towarde *India*, or towarde any other parte what so euer it bee, beinge distant from, or without the foresayd lyne drawn a hundreth leagues towarde the Weste and South from any of the Ilandes which are commonly cauled *De los Azores* and *Cabo Verde*"; excepting "such as have not actually bin heretofore possessed by any other Christian kynge or prynce." Another copy of the Bull, with extended remarks, is given in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, i. bk. 2, 18-25. That Elizabeth denied the right of the Pope to make such a donation is shown by her reply to the Spanish Ambassador who demanded the restoration of the booty taken by Drake in 1580: "She understood not why hers and other Princes Subiects, should be barred from the Indies, which she could not perswade her selfe the Spaniard had any rightfull title to by the Bishop of Rome's donation, in whom she acknowledged no prerogative, much lesse authority in such causes, that he should binde Princes which owe him no obedience, or infeoffe as it were the Spaniard in that new world, and invest him with the possession thereof." (Camden's *Annales* (1635), 225.)

191. Cf. Hallam, ii. 254, 5.

192. The best edition of Hakluyt's work, and the one referred to in the present article, is that edited by Edmund Goldsmid, in 16 volumes, 1885-1890.

193. The most complete account of the family and their adventures, is in *The Hawkins' Voyages*, ed. by C. R. Markham (Hakluyt

Soc., 1878). The memoirs of all of them in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, are by Prof. J. K. Laughton. The voyages of William and of Sir John H. are printed in Arber's *English Garner*, v.

194. Although only two voyages are noted in the title, the text tells us he owned "a tall and goodly shippe . . . the Paule of Plimmouth, wherewith he made *three* long and famous voyages vnto the coast of Brazil."

195. Vide "Sir John Hawkins: Sailor, Statesman, Hero," by R. N. Worth, *D. A.* xv. 246-285.

196. "The guilt of the slave trade," affirms the historian Green, "rests with John Hawkins" (ii. 390), but this statement requires some qualifying. The slave trade had long been a monopoly of the Spanish and Portuguese, and Froude asserts, "the Portuguese stations became institutions for an organized kidnapping." (viii. 429.) Nearly fifty years before (1517) "Charles V. issued royal licences for the importation of negroes into the West Indies, and in 1551 a licence for importing 17,000 negroes was offered for sale." *The Hawkins' Voyages*. Intro. by C. R. Markham (1878), iv. At that period the trade was regarded as a legitimate one. One result of Sir John's action is pointed out by Mr. Worth: "While in carrying negroes to the West Indies Hawkins infringed the prerogatives of the Spaniards, in taking them from Guinea he equally incurred the hatred of the Portuguese." (*D. A.* xv. 257.)

197. Hazlitt (*Bibl. Collect.* (1887), 106) interprets "Guynea" as "Guiana," and this error also appear in the Table of Contents of vol. xiv. of Goldsmid's edit. of Hakluyt's work.

198. He died on April 17th, 1622, and the license in the Stationers' Co. Registers for printing the book, is dated July 24th, with the title, *The Discipline of the Sea historie, In the obseruacons &c.* (ed. Arber, iv. 76.) Edited by Capt. C. R. D. Bethune, R.N., it was the first work published by the Hakluyt Society (1847), and is also included in the vol. for 1877 (*The Hawkins' Voyages*.) In a somewhat abbreviated form it will be found in *Purchas's Pilgrimes*, iv. 1367-1415. Hakluyt's work does not contain it.

199. The writer states in his prefatory remarks, "When my fellow-pupils were some at the bal, some at the racket, others at the tauerne, or standing more idle at the colledge-gate, I was busied this way: soe I wrote it, and soe (yf you can indure it) I desire you to read it." One short specimen—an allusion to W. Browne—will suffice:

"Soule tikling Willy leaue thy past'rall sporte,
Rest fayre Marine in Thetis watry court."

200. In an article entitled "Steven Borough the Navigator" (*D. A.* xii. 332-360) everything that is known about him is recorded by Mr. R. W. Cotton, who remarks, "odd and somewhat

hyperbolic as it may seem, it is, nevertheless, presented to us as a fact, that Russia was discovered in the sixteenth century by a Devonshire man." (*Ibid.* 339, 358.) Mr. Cotton has included in his paper, and printed for the first time from Lansdowne MS., 116, an article by S. Borough, relating to the proper training of English seamen. (*Ibid.* 349-354.) The account of Willoughby's voyage was written in Latin by Clement Adams, and a translation of it Hakluyt included in his work. (iii. 52-76.)

201. Several of his MSS. are in the Harleian and Lansdowne Collections. In the copy of a letter sent "to the Emperour of Moscouie by C. Hodsdon and W. Burrough," in 1570, there is a narration of a sea-fight with freebooters in the Gulf of Finland.

202. Reprinted by Hakluyt, xii. 34-63. He alludes to the general opinion of travellers, "that America was an Island." (*Ibid.* 39.)

203. Vide *Calendar of State Papers, 1547-1580, Domestic*, cxviii. 12. Although only one discourse is mentioned in the Calendar, there are two. The first, dated Nov. 6th, 1577, has been signed "H. Gylbert," but the signature is partly erased. The second is undated and unsigned.

204. The termination of his "Discourse" of 1566 runs thus: "He is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countrey's seruice, and his owne honour: seeing death is inevitable, and the fame of vertue immortall." (Hakluyt, xii. 63.) These words express the guiding principle of his life.

205. Reprinted by Hakluyt (xii. 367-374, xiii. 5-34). The original work contains poetical commendatory lines, said to have been written by Sir F. Drake, Sir J. Hawkins, &c. Vide Collier's *Bibliog. Cat.* ii. 141, 2.

206. None published separately. All recorded in Hakluyt, xii. 224-246, 252-259. Janes was nephew of W. Sanderson, the chief adventurer, and acted as supercargo during the first voyage. *The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator*, edited by Capt. A. H. Markham, was the Hakluyt Society's vol. for 1878. A separate biography of Davis, by C. R. Markham, appeared in 1889.

207. Stated to have been revised by Sir Francis before his death, by whom also the dedicatory epistle (Jan. 1st, 1592-3) was written. The work is reprinted in Arber's *Eng. Garner*, v. 487-560.

208. A short account by a Portuguese will be found in Hakluyt. (xv. 190-1.) Reprinted by Hakluyt (xv. 408-447), and edited by S. W. Vaux, for the Hakluyt Society, in 1854. *The English Hero: or Sir Francis Drake Reviv'd*, first printed in 1687, was

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for very many years an exceedingly popular book. It was a compilation of *Sir F. Drake Revived*, *The World Encompassed*, and other volumes, and was printed on common paper, and embellished with a portrait of Drake. (In the 15th edit. (1756) the portrait of Oliver Cromwell was substituted.) The initials "R. B." on the title page were for R. Burton, a pseudonym used by a London bookseller named Crouch, who published low-priced books, of whom Dunton remarks, "He has melted down the best of our English histories into twelvepenny books, which are filled with wonders, varieties, and curiosities." (Quoted in C. Knight's *Shadows of the Old Booksellers* (1865), 41.)

209. This was commenced by Walter Bigges, a captain in the expedition, and edited for publication by T. Cates. Reprinted in Hakluyt, xv. 208-239.

210. The *Camden Miscellany*, v. pt. 5, 1-54, contains "Sir F. Drake's memorable service done against the Spaniards in 1587," written by Robert Leng, "one of his co-adventurers and fellow-soldiers"; with a valuable Introduction by C. Hopper, an Appendix of Correspondence, and particulars of the goods taken in the *San Philip*, with their values. From the contents of this vessel "our merchants learned for the first time the immense commercial resources of the East." Its capture "suggested the first idea of establishing the East India Company." (Intro., 4.)

211. After the fight of the Armada the Spaniards said of him "he was a devil, and no man." In the Life of Sixtus V. he is termed Drago = Dragon.

212. Another edition was published in the same year at Oxford (1596). One printed at the Lee Priory Press appeared in 1819, with all the spelling modernized. From a corrected copy originally belonging to J. P. Collier, and now in the writer's possession, he evidently intended a reprint of the original version.

A poem descriptive of some of Drake's voyages, written by Thomas Greepe, was printed in 1587.

213. Henry Roberts, a citizen of London, wrote *A most Friendly Farewell* [in verse] to Drake, on his setting out in 1585 [printed work undated]; and *The Trumpet of Fame: or Sir F. Drakes and Sir J. Hawkins Farewell* (1595). Reprinted at the Lee Priory Press in 1818. He was also the author of *Haigh for Devonshire. A pleasant Discourse of sixe gallant Marchants of Deuonshire.* (1600.) Vide *W. A.* iv. 181-183.

"From among all moderns Drake's name stands out as the one that has been associated with almost as many legends as that of Arthur or Charlemagne . . . illustrating the very remarkable hold which Drake's fame took on the minds of the lower ranks of his countrymen." (Prof. J. K. Laughton in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, sub. "Sir Francis Drake.")

214. This is one of many occurrences recorded by Hakluyt, utilised by the Rev. C. Kingsley in his *Westward Ho!* "Indeed the principal incidents of that novel are nothing but extracts from Hakluyt's Collection, in many passages the only difference being the use of modern phraseology." (Edit. note, *Hakluyt*, xv. 251.)

Kingsley probably borrowed his title from Dekker and Webster's Comedy *Westward Hoe*; or from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, "Then westward-hoe." (Act iii. sc. 1.)

215. Reprinted in *Hakluyt*, xv. 181-190. In 1613 appeared *A Plaine Description of the Bermudas, now called Sommer Islands*, of which the first part is a reprint, without acknowledgment, of Jourdan's work. Purchas' *Pilgrimes* (1625), pt. 4, 1734-1758, contains "A true reportory of the wracke and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight," &c., written by "William Strachy, Esquire," one of the travellers. The "Letters Patent to Sir Thomas Gates . . . and others for two several Colonies and Plantations, to be made in Virginia," dated April 10, 1606, with a woodcut of the official seal, "Pro Concilio suo Virginiae," will be found in *The Genesis of the United States*, by A. Brown (1890), i. 52-64.

216. It is not a little remarkable that neither W. C. Hazlitt nor J. P. Collier, in their notices of *The Tempest*, allude to Jourdan's work as the probable source of the play. Prof. Arber points out that Shakespeare "created the character of Caliban . . . out of the description of the Patagonian giants", given in A. Pigafelta's work on Magellan's *Circumnavigation of the Globe*, published in 1526. (*The first three Eng. books on America*, vi.)

217. Here is one verse from Tennyson's ballad:

"And the sun went down, and the stars came out far over the summer sea,
But never a moment ceased the fight of the one and the fifty-three.
Ship after ship, the whole night long, their high-built galleons came,
Ship after ship, the whole night long, with her battle-thunder and flame;
Ship after ship, the whole night long, drew back with her dead and her shame.

For some were sunk and many were shatter'd, and so could fight us no more—

God of battles, was ever a battle like this in the world before?"

Set to music by Dr. Villiers Stanford, it was first performed at the Leeds Festival in 1886. The account of Grenville's death in the ballad, is taken from the report of J. H. van Linschoten, a Hollander, who on the day the action took place was in its vicinity. The scene of the fight is alluded to by Kingsley in *At Last* (1879), 5. In his relation of *Cadiz Action*, in 1596, Raleigh records, "Being resolved to be revenged for the *Revenge*, or to second her with mine own life, I came to anchor by the galleons, of which the *Philip* and *Andrew* were two that boarded the *Revenge*." (*Works* (1829), viii. 670.) The former was blown up, and the latter captured.

218. Printed in *Hakluyt*, xiii. 175-276, with this title :

"A particuler discourse concerning the greate necessitie and manifolde comodities that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerner discoveries lately attempted, written in the yere 1584, by Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde, at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull Mr Walter Raghly, nowe Knight, before the comynge home of his twoo barkes."

219. The volume of the Prince Society (Amer.) for 1884, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America*, is a complete treatise on the subject. It is preceded by a memoir of Raleigh by the Rev. J. N. Tarbox, D.D., by whom the work is edited and annotated.

220. The following is its full title : *The Discoverie of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Gviana, with a relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado), and the provinces of Emeria, Arroimaia, Arrapaia and other Countries; with their rivers, adioyning.* Performed in the yeare 1595 by Sir W. Raleigh. 1596. Reprinted in *Hakluyt*, xiv. 428-469, xv. 5-48. Also by the Hakluyt Society in 1848, edited by Sir R. H. Schomburgk, the only work of the society praised by Froude, in his "England's Forgotten Worthies." The Epistle Dedicatory records that he had "written a particular treatise of the West Indies," of which nothing else is known.

221. He alludes to these charges in his work. In the Epistle Dedicatory he remarks, "I was neither hidden in cornwell or else where, as was supposed." The quality of the ore he brought to England is fully described in the Address to the Reader, having been assayed by several skilled men, one being "comptrollor of the minte." He was fully acquainted with Marcasite.

222. Mr. Gladstone points out that Hume was not fortunate in some of his criticisms. He remarks, "It remains as a real curiosity in literary history . . . that we should find a man of the calibre of Hume describing his [Locke's] works (with those of some others) as compositions 'the most despicable both for style and matter.'" (*The Romanes Lecture*, 1892, 29, 30.) The veteran journalist, G. A. Sala, saw in a library at Seville a copy of the voyages of Marco Polo, with annotations by Columbus of sentences like these—"lie," or "a great lie," or "a wicked lie"; "but modern researches have proved that Marco Polo was not an Italian Baron Munchausen." (*Sala's Journal*, Aug. 27th, 1892.)

223. The race is thus alluded to by Shakespeare :

"Men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders."
(*Othello*, act i. sc. 3.)

This, and the following from the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, show that he was acquainted with Raleigh's work :

"She is a region in Guiana, all gold and bounty."
(*Act i. sc. 3.*)

224. Raleigh also wrote *Considerations on the Voyage to Guiana* (1595), preserved in Sloane MS., 1133. It was printed for the first time in the Appendix to the *History of the World* (1820), vi. 110-133, and subsequently in Schomburgk's edition of *The Discovery of Guiana*.

225. "Sir Walter Raleigh's Journal of his Second Voyage to Guiana," said to be written in his own hand, is preserved in Cottonian MSS., Titus, B viii. fol. 153, *et seq.*, and was first printed by Schomburgk. (*Op. cit.* 177-208.) The last entry is on Feb. 13, 1618; the intelligence of his son's death being probably the cause of its discontinuance.

226. The Privy Council not only objected to many passages in it relating to recent events, but directed them to be expunged. The portions excised were published in a separate volume in 1728, and are included in the edition of the whole work issued in 1807-8. It may have been the remembrance of this that led Raleigh, in the preface to his *History of the World*, to assert, "Whosoever in writing a moderne History, shall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may haply strike out his teeth."

227. On the last page of his great work, Speed thus acknowledges the aid he had received from Barkham: "The like most acceptable helpes, both of Bookes and Collections (especially in matters remoter from our times), I continually receiued from that worthy Diuine, Master John Barkham, a gentleman composed of Learning, Vertue, and Curtesie, as being no lesse ingenuously willing, then learnedly able, to aduance and forward all vertuous endeours."

228. One of its principal contents is, "The Succession of the Dykes and Earles of this Kingdome of England: from the Conquest vntill the twelfth year of the famous Reigne of the mightie Monarch King James the First."

229. An engraved portrait of Prince Charles, by Cornelius van Dalen, forms the frontispiece, but has been removed from the greater number of copies.

230. Sir W. Raleigh's name is sometimes assigned in library and book catalogues as the author of *A New History of England*, issued in two volumes in 1751, and illustrated with thirty-two copper-plate engravings, dated 1746 and 1747. The title page records, "Collected from the most celebrated Authors, by Walter Raleigh, Esq.," of Lincoln's Inn. Many copies contain Sir Walter's *Breviary* and History of *William I.*, with the original Preface, by way of Introduction.

231. According to the Rev. J. Cave-Browne (*Lambeth Palace* (1883), 75-77), the original collection consisted of "seventy-two

volumes, of which only forty-two are now at Lambeth," and "six . . . in the Bodleian." Calendars of the Lambeth series, edited by J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen, form six volumes of the Record Publications, published under the authority of the Master of the Rolls. In the Introduction to the first volume only thirty-nine volumes are reported to be preserved at Lambeth, and four in the Bodleian (lxiii.), and the latter number is corroborated in Macray's *Annals* of that Library (1890), 87.

232. Cf. H. Walpole's *Works* (1798), i. 347. Two French translations by him appeared in *Hibernica*, 1747. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*) Watt (*Bibl. Brit.*) attributes to him a *Relation of the State of France, with the character of Henry IV., &c.*, but this was written by Sir George Carew (-1612), son of Thomas Carew, of Antony, and younger brother of Richard Carew, the author of the *Survey of Cornwall*. A short autobiographical account of the principal events of his life is printed in *Archæologia*, xii. 401-403, and in Wood, ii. 450-452.

233. The Stationers' Co. Registers record licenses granted for *A true and perfect Relation, &c.*, on Nov. 17, 1638, and two days later the same, *with some Addicions of a Preface and Application*. A *second Relation, &c.*, on Nov. 27; and on Dec. 4 a *Relacion in verse of the late accident at Withycom in Devonshire*. (Ed. Arber, 444-446.) A view of the interior of the church during the storm acts as a frontispiece to an anonymous letter relating to Gloucester Cathedral, printed without place or date. (Davidson, *Bibl. Devon.* 59.) In *Things New and Old* (1876), referring to the parish, ed. by R. Dymond, are reprints of the prose and poetical relations of the effects of the storm, a graphic account of which will be found in R. D. Blackmore's Dartmoor tale of *Christowell*.

234. Copies, somewhat smaller in size, of three of the large water-colour drawings, are preserved in a MS. in the Dean and Chapter Library. The latter have been published in *fac-simile*, with descriptions by the Rev. H. E. Reynolds. Two of them are topographical, one of St. Sydwel's fee, the other of the cathedral and its surroundings. They must have been drawn between 1595 and 1597, as the third plate contains the arms of Bishop Babington, who held the see of Exeter during those years.

235. The following, transcribed from the MS. Calendar of the Municipal Archives, made by Mr. Stuart A. Moore (1870), well deserves a place here:

"John Vowell *alias* Hooker, the first Chamberlain of Exeter, seems to have been the first person who appreciated the value of the Records of the City. This learned and laborious man must have examined every paper and every scrap of parchment in the

Muniment Room. We find his handwriting upon all that were extant in his time, and he seems to have carefully arranged them in boxes and labelled them himself. To him this labour was evidently a labour of love, for his History of Exeter and his large Manuscript or Commonplace Book (which has not been printed) abound with extracts from the Records, full of interest and value. A schedule of the papers compiled by him in January, 1600-1, very shortly before his death, is bound up with this Calendar."

236. In the Memoir of Hooker, by Dr. Oliver, in his "Biography of Exonians,"—a series of newspaper articles that well deserve to be reprinted—is the report of a speech printed for the first time, and entitled, "The Oration or Declaration which I John Vowell als Hoker, made by the appointment of Mr. Thomas Mydwynter, Mayor, unto the Commons of the City of Exeter, at the Guildhall, the 25th of January, 1559." [1600.] Several of his heraldic MSS. have been preserved: there is a paper by Mr. C. Worthy in *D. A.*, xiv. 631-636, entitled "John Vowell *alias* Hooker: Some Notes on a Manuscript at the Heralds' College."

237. *Vide* "'William of Worcester,' Devon's earliest Topographer," by R. N. Worth. (*D. A.* xviii. 462-487.)

238. "Until a very recent period the MS. was imperfect, some of the leaves having been bound up . . . in Harl. 6832." These have now been restored to their proper places, and with the exception of one leaf Harl. MS. 5827, is complete. (*Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xviii. 138, 9.)

239. Prince (506) affirms the MS. of the *Synopsis* to have been placed in the hands of Sir John Dodderidge "to correct and fit it for the press," and that he had seen the copy in which he "had marked many things which he thought fit to be expung'd"; it was, however, never printed. "Another copy of the work is . . . in the possession of Sir Lawrence Palk, having come to him from the Portledge collection." (*Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xviii. 139.)

240. A long tabulated list of those at present known, formed by Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, will be found in *D. A.* xiv. 75-79. Several volumes of his Manuscripts "all miscarried in the time of the late civil wars in England . . . so that the very titles and arguments of them are perished likewise." (Prince, 639.) One "long supposed to have been destroyed during" that period is preserved in the library of Queen's College, Oxford. (*D. A.* xiv. 76-78.)

241. Mr. Davidson states there are in various libraries "sixteen more or less perfect" copies in MS. of Risdon's work. (*Bibl. Dev.* 3.) Compare list by Mr. J. Brooking Rowe in *D. A.* xiv. 79, 80.

242. A contemporary MS. copy in the possession of the writer presents some variations in the title: "The Decimes or a Corographical description of the County of Devon, with the Citty & County of Exeter, conteyning matter of History, Antiquity, Cronology, the nature of the Country, the comodities and government thereof, with sundry other things incident, worthy of observacōn, collected by the vew & travell of Tristram Risdon, of Winscot, Gent: for the love of his Country and Countrymen in the said province." Decimes = Tythings. (W. Chapple, *Op. cit.* 3.)

243. The same MS. contains the following variant of this passage:

"To give him [Sir W. Pole] his dew deseruing hee was a man very laborious in antiquities, and a great lover of that reverend studye from whose lampp I have received light in theise my labours."

244. "Several copies of this work, five at least, exist in manuscript." (Davidson, *Bibl. Dev.* i.)

245. The proverb "as fine as Kirton [Crediton] spinning" is well known, but few are aware of its explanation as given by Westcote: "Which spinning was very fine indeed; . . . 140 threads of woollen yarn spun in that town were drawn together through the eye of a tailor's needle, which needle and threads were, for many years together, to be seen in Watling Street, in London, in the shop of one Mr. Duncombe, at the sign of the golden bottle." (121.)

246. The list of prison authors includes the illustrious names of Bunyan, Cervantes, and Boethius. It is noteworthy that Lovelace's well-known lines—

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage," &c.,

had been to some extent anticipated by Raleigh in his *Cynthia*, commencing—

"My body in the walls captived
Feels not the wounds of spiteful envy," &c.

247. The eleventh edition (fo.), edited by Oldys, was published in 1736, and two (8vo.) in 1820 and 1829. Several abridgments of it appeared in the 18th century, a continuation (fo.) by Alex. Ross in 1652, and another (author unknown) in 1708. The first edition (1614) is destitute of title page and of author's name and portrait, all of which are, however, included in that of 1617 and in all subsequent issues. The only portrait of Raleigh known to have been published during his lifetime is on the title page of the *History of World* of 1617, from which the numerous copies that appeared in his other works up to 1736 were taken. In the latter year a new portrait, engraved by G. Vertue, accompanied the edition of Oldys, in which he is represented at a much earlier period of his career.

248. Walter Brit, Brytte, or Brithus (fl. 1390), is included in Prince's *Worthies* (135) on the authority of a doubtful passage in Bishop Bale's work. Pits (547) does not regard him a Devonian, but if even he belonged to this county, his latest biographer (R. L. Poole in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* vi. 358) states, "It seems probable that not one of the extant works ascribed to him is really his,"

249. In his *Roll of the Royal Coll. of Physicians* (1878), Dr. Munk enumerates the names only of two Devonshire men up to 1640. These were Sir Simon Baskerville (1574-1641), a learned and celebrated man of his time, and Richard Spicer (-1640), neither of whom produced any literary work.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF DEVONSHIRE AUTHORS, ETC., TO THE YEAR 1640.

Those marked * are omitted from Prince's *Worthies*.Those marked † are omitted from the *Dictionary of National Biography* up to Vol. xxxiv., ending with "Maccartney."

NAME.	DATE.	PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS OF WORKS.	BIRTH OR RESIDENCE.
1. Alley, William, D.D.	1510 ?-1570 .	Theology, Bibl. Commentary .	{ Bucks. Bp. of Exeter, 1560-1570.
†2. Alfhredus	10th century .	Theology	{ (?) Bp. Crediton, 977-999.
†3. Ash, Simon	12th century .	Poetry	{ Rose Ash (?) Exeter.
4. Baldwin, Thomas	-1190 .	Theology	{ Abp. Canterbury, 1185-1190.
5. Bampton, John	fl. 1340 .	Theology, Philosophy	{ Bampton. Scotland.
*6. Barclay, Alexander	1475 ?-1552 .	Poetry	{ Ottery St. Mary. Exeter.
7. Barkham, John, D.D.	1572 ?-1642 .	History, Heraldry, Numismatics .	{ Cheshire. Plymouth.
*†8. Barlow, John	1581-1630 .	Sermons	{ Brittany or Exeter. Bp. Exeter, 1161-1184.
9. Bartholomew (Iscaunus)	-1184 .	Divinity	{ Tiverton. Devon.
10. Blundell, Peter	1520-1601 .	Founder of School	{ Exeter.
11. Bodley, John	fl. 1540 .	Printing	{ Exeter.
12. Bodley, Sir Thomas	1543-1613 {	Autobiography, Letters, Founder of Library	{ Exeter.
13. Bodley, Sir Josias	1530 ?-1618 .	Itinerary, Military	{ Exeter.
14. Boniface, St. (Winfrid)	680-755 .	Letters, Divinity, Poetry	{ Crediton.
*15. Borough, Stephen	1525-1584 .	Voyages (Hakluyt)	{ Northam.
*16. Borough, William	1536-1599 .	Navigation	{ Northam.
*17. Borough, Christopher	fl. 1579-1587 .	Voyage (Hakluyt)	{ Devon.

NAME.	DATE.	PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS OF WORKS.	BIRTH OR RESIDENCE.
18. Bracton, Henry de	. . . 1268 .	. Law .	. Bracton Clovelly or B. Fleming.
*19. Brice, Thomas	. . . 1570 .	. Poetry .	. Devon (?).
20. Browne, William	. . . 1591-1643 .	. Poetry .	. Tavistock.
21. Burchard, St.	. . . 754 .	. Sermons .	. Devon (?).
22. Bury, John	. . . 1580-1617 .	. Sermons .	. Tiverton.
23. Carew, George, Earl of Totnes	. . . 1556-1629 .	. Irish History Collections .	. Totnes.
*24. Carpenter, John	. . . 1621 .	. Divinity .	. Cornwall.
25. Carpenter, Nathanael	. . . 1589-1623 .	. { Geography, Optics, Philosophy, Sermons .	. R. of Northleigh.
26. Chardon, John, D.D., Bishop of Down and Connor.	. . . 1601 .	. Sermons, Translations .	. Northleigh.
+27. Chichester, Richard	. . . 1355 .	. History .	. Devon.
*28. Coffin, Edward	. . . 1571-1626 .	. R.C. Theology .	. V. of Heavitree.
29. Courtenay, Edward, Earl of Devonshire	. . . 1526?-1556 .	. Translation .	. Pilton (?).
30. Coverdale, Miles	. . . 1488-1568 .	. Biblical Translation and Commentary .	. Exeter.
31. Cowel, John	. . . 1554-1611 .	. Law .	. Devon.
32. Davis, John	. . . 1550-1605 .	. Voyages (Hakluyt also), Hydrography .	. Yorkshire.
33. Doddridge, Sir John	. . . 1555-1628 .	. Law, Legal History, and Antiquities .	. Bp. Exeter, 1551-1553.
34. Doddridge, John	. . . 1666? .	. Founder of Library .	. Ernsborough.
35. Downe, John, D.D.	. . . 1570?-1631 .	. Divinity .	. Sandridge.
36. Drake, Sir Francis	. . . 1540?-1596 .	. Voyages & Expeditions (Hakluyt, &c.) .	. Barnstaple.
37. Duck, Sir Arthur	. . . 1580-1648 .	. Roman Law, Biography .	. Barnstaple.
38. Exeter, Joseph of	. . . fl. 1190 .	. Poetry .	. Holdsworth.
39. Exeter, Walter de	. . . fl. 1301 .	. Romance .	. Tavistock.
40. Exeter, William of	. . . circ. 1320-40 .	. Divinity .	. Heavitree.
			. Exeter.
			. Exeter.

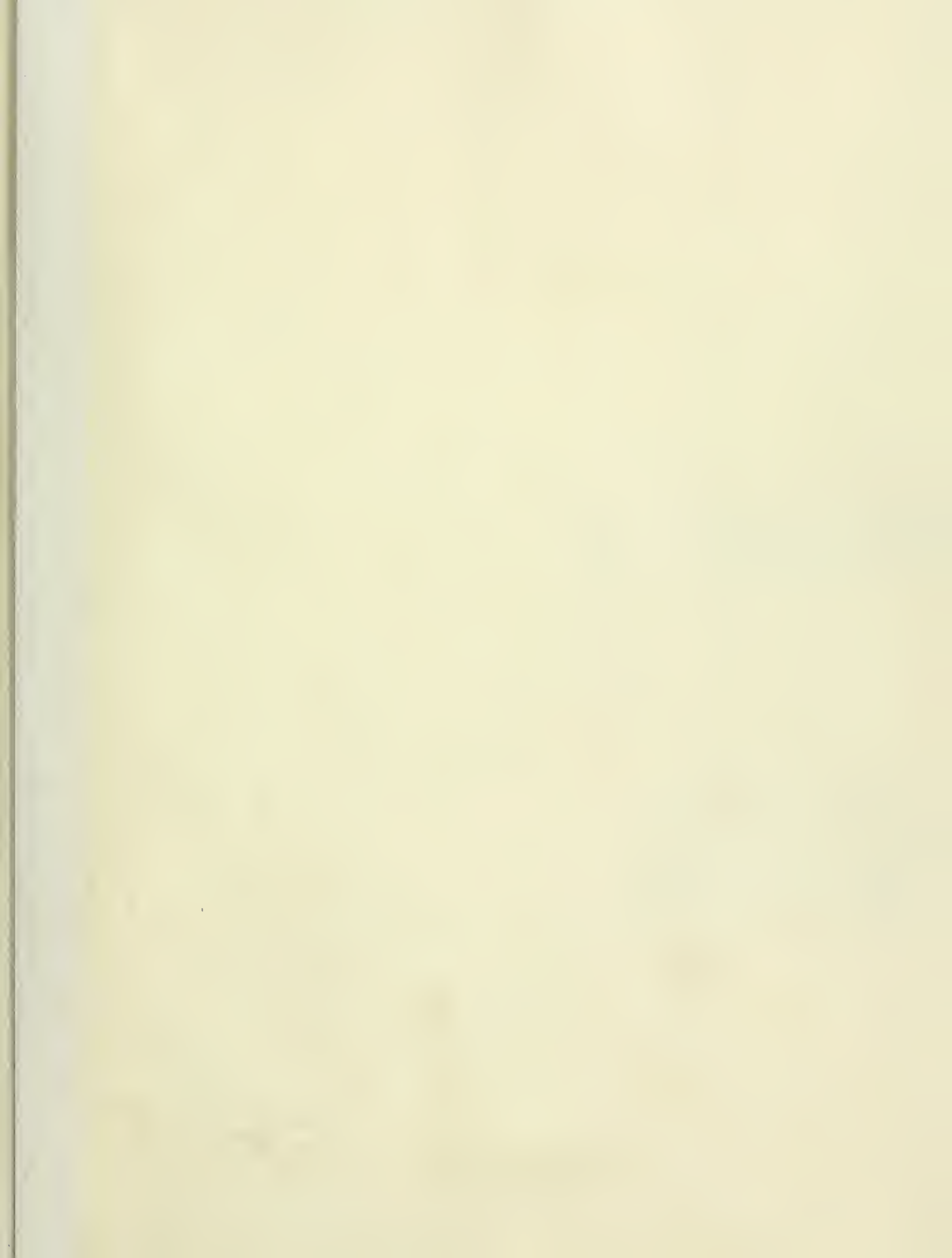
NAME.	DATE.	PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS OF WORKS.	BIRTH OR RESIDENCE.
*†41. Est, William . . .	-1624 ? . .	Sermons . . .	{ (?) R. of Bideford, 1592-(?).
*†42. "Ferumbas," Author of . .	circ. 1380 . .	Translation of Romance . .	. . .
43. Fishacre, Richard . . .	-1248 . .	Divinity . . .	. . .
44. Foliot, Gilbert . . .	-1187 . .	Theology, Biography . .	. . .
45. Foliot, Robert . . .	-1186 . .	Religious Treatises . .	. . .
*46. Ford, John . . .	fl. 1639 . .	Drama, Poetry, Moral Treatises . .	. . .
+47. Ford, John de (Devonius) . .	fl. 1206 . .	Divinity, Biography . .	. . .
*†48. Ford, Roger de, or the Cistercian . .	12th cent. . .	R.C. Martyrology, &c. . .	. . .
49. Fortescue, Sir Faithful . .	1512-1608 ? . .	Biography . . .	. . .
50. Fortescue, Sir Faithful . .	1581-1666 . .	Biography . . .	. . .
51. Fortescue, Sir John . . .	1394 ?-1476 ? . .	Law . . .	. . .
52. Gates, Sir Thomas . . .	fl. 1596-1621 . .	Voyage . . .	. . .
53. Gee, Edward, D.D. . .	1565-1618 . .	Sermons . . .	{ Manchester (?). R. of Tedburn St. Mary.
54. Gee, John . . .	1596-1639 . .	Anti R.C. Treatise, Sermons . .	. . .
*55. Gifford, Humphrey . . .	fl. 1580 . .	Poetry . . .	. . .
56. Gilbert, Sir Humphrey . .	1539 ?-1583 . .	Naval Discovery, &c., Education . .	. . .
*57. Godwin, Francis, D.D. . .	1562-1633 . .	Biography . . .	{ Northamptonshire. Sub-Dean Exeter, 1587-1601.
*58. Grosse, Alexander . . .	1596 ?-1654 . .	Divinity . . .	. . .
59. Hakewill, George, D.D. . .	1578-1649 . .	Divinity, Politics . .	. . .
60. Hakewill, William . . .	1574-1655 . .	Legal and Parl. Hist. and Antiquities . .	. . .
*61. Hall, Joseph . . .	1574-1656 . .	Religious and Political Treatise, Bibl. Commentary . .	{ Leicestershire. Ep. Exeter, 1627-1641.
*62. Halse, Sir Nicholas . . .	-1636 . .	Projector . . .	. . .
63. Harding, Thomas, D.D. . .	1516-1572 . .	Religious Controversy . .	. . .
64. Hawkins, Sir John . . .	1532-1595 . .	Voyages (and Hakluyt) . .	. . .

NAME.	DATE.	PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS OF WORKS.	BIRTH OR RESIDENCE.
65. Hawkins, Sir Richard	. . . 1562 ?-1622	. . . Voyage	. . . Plymouth.
*66. Hawkins, William	. . . -1554 ?	. . . Voyages (Hakluyt)	. . . Tavistock.
*67. Heale, William	. . . 1581 ?-1627	. . . Defence of Women	. . . South Hcle.
68. Herrick, Robert	. . . 1591-1674	. . . Poetry	. . . London.
*69. Hieron, Samuel	. . . 1576 ?-1617	. . . Divinity	. . . V. of Dean Prior, 1629-.
70. Hooker, John	. . . 1526 ?-1601	. . . Topography, History, Biography, Municipal Antiquities, &c.	. . . Essex.
71. Hooker, Richard	. . . 1554 ?-1600	. . . Ecclesiastical Polity	. . . V. of Modbury, 1601 ?-1617.
*72. Hunt, Nicholas	. . . 1596-1648	. . . Religious Treatises, Arithmetic	. . . Exeter.
*73. Hutton, Thomas	. . . 1566-1639	. . . Anti-Puritan Controversy	. . . Heavitree.
*74. Jackson, Abraham	. . . 1589-1646 ?	. . . Religious Treatises	. . . Devon.
*75. Jernin, Michael	. . . 1591-1659	. . . Bibl. Commentary, Dom. Philosophy	. . . Knowston ?
76. Jewel, John, Bishop of Salisbury	. . . 1522-1571	. . . Religious Controversy	. . . Berryarbor.
*77. Kellet, Edward, D.D.	. . . -1641	. . . Divinity	. . . { (1). Preb. of Exeter, 1630-.
78. Kempe, William	. . . fl. 1590	. . . Education	. . . { (1). [1605.
79. Kidley, William	. . . fl. 1624	. . . Poetry	. . . { Schoolmaster, Plymouth, 1581- Dartmouth.
80. Leofric	. . . -1072	. . . Founder of Library	. . . { (1). [1072.
81. Lyde, George	. . . -1673	. . . Poetry	. . . { Bp. Crediton & Exeter, 1046- Berry Pomeroy.
82. Lyfing (Livingus)	. . . -1046	. . . Travels	. . . { Devon (1). Bp. Crediton, 1032-1046.
83. Martin, Richard	. . . 1570-1618	. . . Parliamentary	. . . Otterton.
84. Martin, William	. . . 1562-1617	. . . History, Education	. . . Exeter.

NAME.	DATE.	PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS OF WORKS.	BIRTH OR RESIDENCE.
85. Mayne, Jasper, D.D.	. . . 1604-1672	. . . Drama, Translations, Sermons	. . . Hatherleigh.
86. Molle, John	. . . 1557?-1638	. . . Translation	. . . South Molton.
87. Moreman, John, D.D.	. . . -1554	. . . Biblical Commentary	. . . Southole or Hartland.
88. Morwen, John	. . . <i>fl.</i> circ. 1550	. . . Translations	. . . Devon.
89. Oxenham, John	. . . <i>fl.</i> 1575	. . . Voyage (Hakluyt)	. . . Plymouth.
*90. Peeke, Richard	. . . <i>fl.</i> 1625	. . . Autobiography	. . . Tavistock.
91. Peele, George	. . . 1558-1599	. . . Drama, Poetry	. . . Devon?
92. Pole, Sir William	. . . 1561-1635	. . . County History	. . . Shute.
93. Prideaux, John, D.D.	. . . 1578-1650	. . . Theology, Education	. . . Stowford.
94. Ralegh, Sir Walter	. . . 1552-1618	. . . History, Voyages, Poetry, &c.	. . . East Budleigh.
95. Reynolds (Rainolds), John, D.D.	. . . 1549-1607	. . . { Biblical Commentary, Controversy, } Divinity, Anti-Drama	. . . { Pinhoe.
*96. Reynolds, John, of Exeter	. . . <i>fl.</i> 1620	. . . Anti-Murder, Romance	. . . Exeter.
*97. Reynolds, William	. . . -1594	. . . Religious Controversy	. . . Pinhoe.
*98. Rhodes, Hugh	. . . 16th century	. . . Dom. Philosophy	. . . Devon.
99. Risdon, Tristram	. . . 1580-1640	. . . County History	. . . Winseott.
*100. Robert of Plympton	. . . 13th century	. . . Divinity	. . . Plympton (?).
*101. Scater, William, D.D.	. . . -1661?	. . . Divinity	. . . { Somerset.
*102. Shillingford, John	. . . <i>fl.</i> 1450	. . . Municipal Rights	. . . { Preacher in Exeter, ante 1640.
*103. Slade, William	. . . -1415	. . . Divinity	. . . { Exeter.
104. Smyth, Richard	. . . <i>fl.</i> 1612	. . . Sermon	. . . { Devon (?).
105. Stapeldon, Walter de	. . . -1326	. . . Founded Exeter College, Oxford.	. . . { Preacher at Barnstaple.
106. Strode, William, D.D.	. . . 1600?-1644	. . . Drama, Poetry, Sermons	. . . { Annery.
107. Stucley, Sir Lewis	. . . 1574-1620	. . . "Apology"	. . . { Bp. Exeter, 1308-1326.
			. . . { Plympton.
			. . . { North Devon.

NAME.	DATE.	PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS OF WORKS.	BIRTH OR RESIDENCE.
*108. Sutcliffe, Matthew, LL.D.	1550-1629	Religious Controversy, Arms	{ Yorkshire (?). Dean of Exeter, 1588-1629.
*109. Tolley, David	1500?-1552?	Educational.	Kingsbridge.
110. Tooker (Tucker), William, D.D.	-1620	{ Touching for King's Evil, Support of Royal Prerogative, &c.	{ Exeter.
111. Tozer, Henry.	1602-1650	Divinity	North Tawton.
*112. Turner, Robert	-1599	{ Death of Mary Queen of Scots, Letters, Religious Commentaries, &c.	{ Barnstaple.
113. Upton, Nicholas	-1457	Heraldry	Postlinch (?).
114. Wadham, Nicholas, and Dorothy	circa. 1610	Founders of Wadham Coll., Oxford	Edge.
115. Westcote, Thomas	1567-1630?	County History	Shobrook.
116. Wey, William	A. 1460	Travels	Devon.
117. Whitbourne, Capt. R.	A. 1558-1620	Voyage	Exmouth.
*118. Willibald, St.	701?-785	Biography (?), Travels	Crediton.
119. Wolcombe, Robert.	A. 1600	Divinity, Translations	Devon.
*120. Wyot, Philip.	A. 1600	Diary	{ [1586-1608. Town Clerk of Barnstaple,
*121. Yonge, Walter	-1649	Diary	Colyton.

The writer desires to acknowledge the kind assistance of many of his literary friends, especially the Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.



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